

N. A. A. C. P. - 1919.

N. A. A. C. P. Urges President Wilson To Give Representation To The Five Million Negroes Laborers Of The United States

In The New Re-organized Industrial Conference Now Under Consideration

Migration, 1916-17," to have caused the migration.

New York, Oct. 28.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today made public a telegram to President Wilson urging that in the event of a new or reorganized industrial conference, the 12,000,000 Negroes of the United States be represented.

The telegram states that the Negro, representing one-seventh of the nation's labor supply, is becoming an increasing element in industry and that an extensive migration of Negro labor is still in progress.

The text of the telegram is as follows:

October 27, 1919.

Hon. Woodrow Wilson,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People respectfully urges that in the event of a new or reorganized industrial conference a representative of the 12,000,000 colored people in the United States be appointed.

It is submitted that Negroes constitute one-seventh of the nation's labor supply; that Negroes are becoming an increasing element in the industrial life of the nation; that there has been and still is extensive migration of Negro labor; that the Negro migrant has been subject to unfavorable conditions such as faced the immigrant from Europe; and that economic and other causes are shown in a report of the United States Department of Labor, "Negro

In the interest of a fair approach to race relations as an important element of industrial adjustment in the United States, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People respectfully urges representation of colored United States citizens.

JOHN R. SHILLADY, secretary,
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR
THE ADVANCEMENT OF

COLORED PEOPLE
NEGROES PROTEST
SPRINGFIELD M. REPUBLICAN
SEPTEMBER 6, 1919
Local Association Wants Gillett to
Get Congressional Probe of Shillady Case in Texas

Vigorous protest has been made to Frederick H. Gillett, speaker of the national House of Representatives, by the Springfield branch of the national association for the advancement of colored people because of the assault on John R. Shillady of New York, national secretary of the association, made by County Judge Pickle and a deputy sheriff in Austin, Tex., last month. The protest asks for a congressional investigation. A letter representing the sentiments of the 400 members of the local branch was sent to Speaker Gillett Thursday, following the unanimous vote of a meeting held Wednesday evening at St John's Congregational church. The letter is signed by Rev Dr William N. De Berry, pastor of the church and vice-president of the local branch; Dr William B. Jones, secretary, and W. H. Greenfield.

The assault on Shillady, a white man, took place at Austin, Tex., August 22. Shillady was beaten with their fists by a group of men, among whom was Judge Dave J. Pickle, and was put on a train for St Louis. Judge Pickle in explaining his action declared that Shillady had been "inciting Negroes against the whites" and had previously been warned to leave Austin. The following day Gov W. B. Hobby of Texas in a telegram to officials of the national association for the advancement of colored people said Shillady was "the only offender in connection with the matter."

Race School Teacher Disgraced By Illegal Arrest After Being Choked And Beaten By White Ruffians

Negroes Driven Out Were Backing Efforts Of Young Woman To Secure Justice And Using Local N. A. A. C. P. Organization To Aid With Funds And Moral Support

(From The Anderson Daily Mail
Oct. 14..)

Monday in the court of common pleas was taken up almost entirely with the case of Christine Thomas, a colored teacher in Anderson's city, who was charged with the F. Woolworth company, in which she asked \$10,000 damages, the suit being based on an alleged occurrence where she was forcibly taken to the rear of the store, choked and otherwise threatened and abused, for which she asked actual and punitive damages in the sum of \$10,000.

The plaintiff was represented by Bonham and Allen, and Breazeale and Pearman, and the defendant represented by A. H. Dagnall. The jury retired and at 5.30 o'clock returned a sealed verdict, the verdict being opened and read this morning. The jury declared \$25.00 actual damages and \$1.00 punitive damages, and costs for the plaintiff.

"With the imprudence of an organization with no other purpose in the world than to cause unrest among the Negroes of the South, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has deemed it advisable to send to the highest official of the United States a request that a rigid probe be made of the lynching of Ely Cooper, black, by 'silent riders of the night' on early Thursday morning in Dodge county. Backed by a statement, which is a black lie in itself, that the lives of 'citizens of the United States' are not being protected, the trouble-making association also brings the Shillady case of Texas to the President's attention with a hope that something will be done to the men who sent a white-nigger scampering back to the North with his slimy, moss-covered teachings. The Courier-Herald represents the result cast upon the officials of Georgia by this nigger-lovers' association, which had the insolence to say to a white President of the United States that this state, with others of the South, was not protecting the lives of its citizens, both white and black.

"Since the day Oglethorpe set foot on soil afterwards christened Georgia, this good state has had laws and officials fully competent to deal with any situation arising within its border without the aid of a nigger racial equality society. It is high time that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in its infancy (and liable to die in this state), should learn that Georgia is the land of white men. The South is a 'white man's country,' and the time will never come when the interference of a nigger society, breeding discontent with every hour of existence, with the enforcement of its laws, made by white men, and enforced by white men, will be tolerated.

"The best thing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with its white-nigger secretary, can do for the betterment of the Negroes of the country is to shut its filthy mouthpiece and organs of racial equality and die in a grave filled with hog slops. When the South thinks it advisable to seek the President on 'protecting the lives of citizens of the United States' it will do so with the

ETICA NY DISPATCH
AUGUST 30, 1919
The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in a telegram sent yesterday to President Wilson, protested against recent anti-negro riots and, more particularly against the assault upon John R. Shillady, secretary of the association, last week in Austin, Tex.

The Soul of the Southern Press

The Chicago Defender
Expressed in an editorial from the Dublin (Ga.) Courier-Herald, Sept. 1, under the caption "A Nigger-Lovers' Association."

support of white men, and, if it thinks best, the respectable, peace-loving Negroes who have lived here and know the true state of affairs.

"The nigger-lovers' association cannot rest assured that the officials of Georgia will protect the people without its aid or advice. The national association with the aid of Chicago nigger newspapers, which have even gone so far as to state that the South was responsible for the recent race riot in the North, are indirectly responsible for the recent trouble in Laurens and Dodge.

"If the nigger lovers want to make an official investigation of the affair let them send Shillady or some other representative to this county, and, while we do not believe in lynching or condone the acts of the night riders, we will venture to say that the investigator will reach hell before his scheduled time. The advancement association would do well to keep out of the South and leave the Negro problem to the people who know how to deal with it."

WAS MR. SHILLADY NARROW BRAINED?

In making a speech before a State Convention in favor of the United States intervention in Mexico Governor Hobby, of Texas, went out of his way to make the following remarks:

"I believe, in Texas for Texans only, and just as strongly do I believe that Texans should say how the affairs of the State should be conducted. And I believe in sending any narrow-brained, double-chinned reformer who comes here with the end in view of stirring up racial discontent back to the North where he came from, with a broken jaw, if necessary."

Instead of urging Uncle Sam to send U. S. soldiers down into Mexico, it would be a much more pleasant expedition to send a detachment of Sammie's down into Texas to force men like Governor Hobby to pay the proper respect and honor to American citizens.

What The N. A. A. C. P. Stands For

1. A vote for every Negro man and woman on the same terms as for white men and women.
2. An equal chance to acquire the kind of an education that will enable the Negro everywhere wisely to use this vote.
3. A fair trial in the courts for all crimes of which he is accused, by judges in whose election he has participated without discrimination because of race.
4. A right to sit upon the jury which passes judgment upon him.
5. Defense against lynching and burning at the hands of mobs.
6. Equal service on railroad and other public carriers. This to mean sleeping car service, dining car service, Pullman service, at the same terms as other passengers.
7. Equal right to the use of public parks, libraries and other community services for which he is taxed.
8. An equal chance for a livelihood in public and private employment.
9. The abolition of color-hyphe-nation and the substitution of "straight Americanism."

stable Hamby, directing that I appear at once before Justice Thompson. There was an automobile near by when I was served, and I was invited to ride over. I was informed it was a 'secret proceeding.' There I found the County Attorney, J. H. Hornsby, and at his elbow was County Judge Pickle, who took part in the attack made on me the next morning. They displayed the utmost hostility and paid no attention to what I said about the purpose of our organization.

"I read from our records and annual reports, and laid special emphasis on the high standing of the white officials

who were known throughout the country as unselfish leaders who were striving to bring about better relations among the people of the country. I did not overlook the high rank of the Southern men who joined former President Taft, Attorney-General Palmer and others of our foremost leaders in the campaign to check and suppress lynchings.

"When the hearing adjourned, I went to the hotel and was out next morning to see an officer of the branch. I did not address any meeting or do anything else to irritate or excite anyone, as my assailants claim, in order to justify their attack. I saw not more than three at the outside and did nothing whatever and said nothing that I would not repeat in front of those who had me at the court hearing.

"The attack came when I was on my way to the hotel for lunch, and it was a mob instead of a trio, that manhandled me right there in the public place. A crowd gathered, but not one interfered or made any plea for fair play. When I picked myself up bleeding with my clothing torn and ruined, I went to the hotel and called up the Adjutant-General's office and asked for protection, telling him of the assault at the same time. He coolly informed me that it was 'a local matter' that did not come under his jurisdiction. I then got the Mayor and made a similar request. He sent a police officer who stayed with me until I was aboard the train.

Was Not Inciting Negroes.

"The instigation that I was doing or saying anything to incite Negroes against the whites is an absurd falsehood, since our organization basically is pledged to devote its best efforts to prevent any clashes between the races, and to get the Negro only what justice should concede him. The officials I encountered in Austin know better. They must know, if they have any disposition to look squarely at the facts, that I was not in their city on any such mission. They know, too, that we are simply striving to remove the cause of race disturbances, to give the Negro his rights under the law—that, and nothing more.

Is Not Discouraged.

"The officials who attacked me do not believe in doing this and that's why they manifested their disapproval by taking it out on me. But I do not propose to let this experience discourage me in the least. On the contrary I intend to keep right ahead working with the organization to do something worth while in properly solving an admittedly serious problem. Texas in the last 30 years has held the third place in the number of lynchings, with a record of more than 300, but despite this, I know that there are a vast number of people there who are not proud of this showing."

Mr. Shillady is a white man, a native of County Down, Ireland, but has lived in this country since he was four years old. He has been the Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People since February, 1918. He came to that As-

sociation after having held the following positions: Secretary of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, New York City; Secretary of the New York State Industrial Board; Secretary of the Buffalo Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis. Since his entering upon his work as Secretary of the Association has advanced from 80 branches and 9,000 members in January, 1918, to 268 branches in 40 states and the District of Columbia and 3 foreign, and to a membership of 79,500. Among the states that of Texas has the largest number of branches, 31, with a membership of 7,046.

SEC. SHILLADY ASKS PRESIDENT WILSON TO INVESTIGATE.

NEW YORK Aug. 27.—John R. Shillady, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, issued a statement here to night, in which he declared action would be taken to obtain satisfaction for the attack made on him in Austin, Tex., when he went there to advance the interests of his organization. Four steps have been decided on, he said: Demands for congressional and presidential investigations, and appeal to Gov. Smith to protect the interests of citizens of New York, who visit Texas and legal action against the persons who attacked Shillady.

SAVAGE LYNCHINGS

The violent assault upon John R. Shillady, national secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at Austin, Texas, last Friday, shows the stupendous price even a white man must pay, in the South, to ask for justice for the race.

The intolerant spirit prevailing in the South, towards those white or Colored, who enter that section with a simple plea for equal rights and justice for a people, who by their unrequited toil have made great stretches of woods blossom into productive plantations, and provincial hamlets into cities, constitutes the best possible evidence that bolshevism is not indigenous to Russia alone; that anarchy is not the monopoly of the fettered Russian serfs.

We sympathize with Mr. Shillady, who has proved himself to be a strenuous advocate of justice for the race, and who has been persistent in ferretting out the crimes committed against the race—the lynchings and burning of Colored people in the South, and we denounce, as strongly as we can, intolerance that resorts to brutal assault upon an American citizen who peacefully pleads for justice for the oppressed.

While United States senators were interesting themselves in voting out the Shantung provisions in the world Peace Treaty, to protect illiterate aliens in the Orient, ten thousand miles away, an American citizen, on the same day, was being mobbed and beaten right here in his own country—right here in a Republic that entered the war "to make the world safe for democracy," because he dared to interest himself in the cause of the oppressed native-born, loyal citizens, of this, his, and their own country.

What a mockery is Right and Justice in savage Texas!

Stirring Up the Negroes

DALLAS, GA. ERA

SEPTEMBER 4, 1919

We do not believe there would ever been any trouble between the whites and negroes in any section of this country, certainly not in the southern section, were it not for the deeply to be regretted and thoroughly to be condemned activities of a few whites. These whites are divided into two classes, those who for political reasons would resort to any means, no matter how foul, to carry their purposes, and those who are natural degenerates, unequal and unfit to associate with those of their own race.

In the north the activities of these whites have already caused race disturbances of a tragic character, and if continued the trouble there will grow more widespread—as to that the people of that section can doubtless take care of themselves, the people of the south never interfere with the social conditions of other sections. But they are entitled and they propose to settle all such questions in their own section.

The negro, as a rule, is disposed to be docile, hard working and easy to get along with, and so long as they pursue the proper course there is no people on earth who would go further to uphold and protect them than the people of the south. But the people of the south are not going to tolerate interference by disturbing elements from other sections.

A case in point is one Shillady who calls himself the secretary of National Association for the advancement of colored people. We are not familiar with the reasons why Mr. Shillady feels

called upon to take the whole negro race in this country under his wing, but whatever those reasons are he had better pursue his activities in some other section than the south. He was beaten and run out of Austin, Texas a few days ago, and if he persists in his course it is not improbable that something worse will happen to him. This is merely one instance of agitated interference in the negro question. We do not propose to dignify Shillady by further mention of him, but it is just such a character, and there are others in this country who are so mean, so thoroughly contemptible, that they would precipitate if they could race riots in all sections of the country, in order to carry out their purposes.

We have no patience whatever with the white promoters of negro dissatisfaction. It is scarcely conceivable that white men would stir up antagonism between the races that might be awful in their consequences, but that there are such infernal degenerates in this country, is all too apparent. They deserve the condemnation of all good men whether white or black. There is no reason whatever for ill feeling between the races in this country, and there would not be, except for the activities of such men as Shillady. They are not only a public nuisance, they are a public menace and no decent white man, either north or south, should associate with them.

The country has problems enough to be solved and troubles enough already without racial troubles heaped upon it. Men like Shillady should be kept in jail. —Rome Tribune-Herald.

Texas Jackasses Bray

The following press dispatch from Austin, Texas, if it reports truthfully and without garbling the action of an assembled body of Negroes in that city justifies the headline above:

The Daily Herald

"Austin, Tex., Sept. 1.—Two thousand Negroes and 100 white persons met here last night and discussed the race question, which speakers termed acute. 9-2-19

"Negroes here said it was the beginning of a State-wide movement.

"The meeting which was held at the invitation of the executive board of the St. John's Missionary Negro Baptist Association, with a membership of 20,000 Negroes in 11 counties surrounding Austin, was opened by the reading of a resolution adopted by the executive board of the association. In part the resolution said:

"We discourage and emphatically

declare our opposition to people of the North who do not understand conditions in the South interfering with our relationship. If we are left to ourselves we will adjust all our differences for the good of all concerned.

"We tender our services to local and State authorities in allaying this nervousness and uneasiness now existing between the races."

Coming as it does on the heels of the brutal assault upon Mr. Shillady, Secretary of the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People, it is timed and has for its purpose the public repudiation of Mr. Shillady and the Association and the magnificent work which it has done and is continuing to do in this country not only in the South but throughout the United States. Its undoubted purpose is to attempt to create sentiment for the

brutes who beat a peaceable citizen while on a mission of justice and peace in the State of Texas, by tacitly indorsing the acts of those brutes and, in effect, the savage lynchings and burnings, the wiping out by a murderous mob of an entire family in that state.

It is said that two thousand Negroes and one hundred white men were present at this wonderful gathering of long eared animals. We do not believe it and must confess that the report of the so-called resolutions may be also manufactured. Press reports concerning the acts or expressions of Negroes must always be accepted with caution as they are seldom, if ever, accurate or truthful; nearly always they are stretched beyond the intended meaning and application and whatever is spoken that is not either foolishly violent and reckless, or degradingly subservient is suppressed. We do not believe there are two thousand Negroes in the whole state of Texas who would declare themselves opposed

to the people of the North, of Canada, Japan or the British Isles showing a friendly and sympathetic interest for them and endeavoring as far as they are able to lighten the hand of oppression upon them nor do we believe they would characterize their efforts as "intermeddling" because they seek to secure justice for them.

That meeting, the resolutions and all that pertains thereto was inspired and promoted by the one hundred white men present. It is the hand of Esau without

even the voice of Jacob.

"If left to ourselves we will in time adjust all our differences for the good of all concerned."

Is there anybody, with a grain of sense, who has the slightest acquaintance with the Negro and his condition in the South, who believes he could have written that damnable, stultifying rot or could have sanctioned it in his heart? If there is one who could have written it we hope we will meet him some day so that we can tell him our mind; our pastor would probably turn us out of the church if we expressed it in *The Herald* and *The Herald* might also be held up in the mails.

The Negroes, if there were any who indorsed such a lying statement know that whatever program white men determine upon in regard to the Negro is "for the good of all concerned" and especially the Negro whether it is depriving him of education, Jim Crowing him, segregating him, depriving him of the ballot or lynching him. For nearly forty years they have been "left to themselves" and "our differences" are to-day further from adjustment on a basis of right and justice than when the race was freed. And if "left to ourselves" another forty years "our differences will be adjusted" by lynching and burning as in the past and by a species of slavery more open and flagrant than the semi-slavery of the present day, or the exodus of the Negro in entirety from the South.

The Texas jackasses ought to be muzzled.

RACE MEDDLING IS DEPLORED BY NEGRO GATHERING

SAN ANTONIO TEX. EXTERIOR
SEPTEMBER 2, 1919
ST. JOHN'S ENCAMPMENT ISSUES
STATEMENT AND PASSES
RESOLUTIONS.

The following statement and resolutions have been issued by the executive board of the St. John Association, now in session at Ebenezer Tabernacle, Austin:

"Because of the extraordinary times and peculiar conditions surrounding us, the St. John Regular Missionary Baptist Association, Dr. L. L. Campbell, moderator, and associated body of churches, ministers and deacons, with a membership totaling 15,000, feels it its duty to speak boldly and declare their attitude in respect to these interests affecting us as a race and denomination.

"Recently the capital of our Nation and other large cities of the North have been disgraced by race riots, in which some of them approximated a civil war. Men who fought side by side for democracy were found destroying and disgracing that democracy in the country that might well be styled as the cradle and patron of democracy. It would not be out of place to give briefly what we construe as some of the causes of these riots.

"The negro, while deploring the war and regretful that a baptism of blood and sorrow came upon us, still had hoped for much out of the war respecting his rights and privileges as an American citizen. In fact, he was told by war lecturers of the great debt this country would owe because of this participation in the strife. Looking forward to these things, the negro was 100 per cent patriotic. He invested in war savings and thrift stamps, Liberty bonds and contributed to the Red Cross and war work campaigns, to the limit of his capacity. They gave their husbands, sons, fathers willingly and gladly, to pay the supreme and bloody price to make the world safe for democracy, hoping that these sacrifices would be rewarded by better conditions, larger justice and fairer treatment at the hands of those in power.

"The war closed, conflicts ended, the boys returned to their homes to find, rather than admiring, that racial antagonism was increased. Seeing that the golden days seemed to delay their coming, the era of justice to all men slow approaching, some of the negroes in their impatience sought to hasten their coming by taking the delusive path of violence. It is our belief that conditions for the better are imminent, if only we in our haste do not commit abortion and send this great and looked-for day to an untimely grave. The reform we expect must, of wisdom and necessity, be slow. Justice cannot be born of injustice; right cannot come from wrong; strife will never bring forth peace.

Some of the soldiers returning to their several communities bring with them a story of reproaches and insults heaped upon them; of great injustice done them by some of the white American officers in France. Some would have them believe that such conduct on the part of those unscrupulous officers was sanctioned by the department at Washington, but we take the view that the officers in France who did these things were the exception, and not the rule. Just as in the days of slavery—all slaveholders were not cruel and unjust, but some were very kind and considerate—hence, while we admit that possibly there were wrongs and injustice, still

the whole should not be made to suffer regardless of his race or color, for the conduct of the few. Whoever, therefore, would seek to stir up strife and bloodshed between the races, for causes assigned above, is indeed very unwise and inconsiderate.

The press of the country comes in for its share of condemnation. We refer especially to those magazines, newspapers and periodicals published by negroes that magnify the wrongs and minimize the good. The negro sheet that publishes and brandishes before the eye incendiary articles at this time, is an enemy rather than a friend to the race. The negroes, nor the whites, are in any frame of mind for waving of the bloody shirt. The magazines that urge upon the negro to force himself into political positions, except where such is mutual on part of both races, is laying the foundation for race riots and bloodshed in the South. Conditions in the South do not at this time justify such a course.

"There seems to be an organized effort springing from somewhere that would array the negroes against the whites of the South. The inconsistency of such a course is plainly shown by the Northern negro himself; for, while he seeks to estrange the whites and blacks of the South, he takes good pains to stay on friendly terms with the whites of the North. The Southern negro must recognize the fact that he lives in the South. Many of them own farms and operate businesses. It appears to us the safer course is to strive for friendly and helpful co-operation of our Southern white people. There isn't a Southern white man but who delights to render whatever assistance he can in a legitimate way to a respectable, honest and trustworthy negro. Is it wisdom on our part to not allow ourselves to become prejudiced toward our white friends of the South, by high-sounding words and unreasonable argument by the negro of the North? The laboring element has nothing to gain by lending an ear to this propaganda; leaving good jobs; all but giving away their property and moving to the North, where conditions and environments are altogether different. The South is a goodly land, rich in minerals, agricultural products, stock raising, etc. The nature of the soil and climatic conditions are suitable for the negro. Here is the place to stay. Why desert the richest and most fertile part of our country, and flee this beautiful land, where opportunity knocks at every man's door? Our leaders in church and civil life, whether North or South, are Southern born and trained negroes. The negro who is honest and industrious need not migrate, but stay right here and enjoy the blessing of prosperity in this land where Providence has placed us. Our need is, that there should be a larger co-operative spirit within our own ranks along business lines. If some of these loud-speaking soft-handed preachers and professional men who are making their living off the washerwoman, ditch-diggers, cooks, etc., would expend half as much energy in seeking to make them contented and appreciative of the place they fill, as they expend in making them uncomfortable and dissatisfied, the possibilities in this land would be beyond our most flattering hopes. We have nothing to gain by disturbing the harmony now existing between the employer and the employed, but as race leaders we should urge our people to make the best of opportunities right here.

"We discourage and emphatically declare our opposition to people of the North who do not understand conditions in the South, intermeddling with our relationship as two distinct races in the South. The Southern white man understands the Southern negro, and the same is true of the negro with respect to the white man. If we are left to ourselves we will in time adjust all of our differences to the good of all concerned."

Resolutions.

"That as an association, we do hereby go on record as favoring and supporting the ideas set forth by our moderator, Dr. L. L. Campbell, in this crisis.

"That we use our influence in the several communities where we live for peace, patience and forbearance on the part of the negro, and that we use every legitimate and Christly means to observe the Golden Rule in our dealings with our fellow men

CAMPAIGN FOR RIGHTS PLANNED BY NEGROES

New York, May 13.—Announcement of a country-wide campaign to enroll 100,000 persons "to defend the constitutional and legal rights now denied more than four-fifths of the negro race in America," was made tonight by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The organization, having 50,000 members, hopes to double the number before June 21, when it will hold a national conference in Cleveland.

"To make America safe for Americans," the association has adopted the following program:

A vote for every negro man and woman on the same terms as white men and women.

An equal chance to acquire the kind of an education that will enable the negro everywhere wisely to use this vote.

A fair trial in the courts for all crimes of which he is accused by judges in whose election he has participated without discrimination because of race.

A right to sit upon a jury which passes judgment upon him.

Defense against lynching and burning at the hands of mobs.

Equal service on railroad and other public carriers, including sleeping, dining and Pullman cars.

Equal rights to use public parks, libraries and other community services for which he is taxed.

An equal chance for a livelihood in public and private employment.

SPRINGFIELD M. REPUBLICAN

SEPTEMBER 3, 1919

Gov Hobby and the Negro Problem

Gov Hobby of Texas in one breath demands intervention in Mexico, and Texas for Texans only, and that Texas should say how the affairs of the state should be conducted."

He is for sending back, "with a broken jaw if necessary, any narrow-brained, double-chinned reformer who comes here with the end in view of stirring up racial discontent."

This is evidently a scarcely veiled allusion to the secretary of the association for the advancement of colored people, who was violently assaulted by public officials at Austin the other day when on a visit to a local branch of the association.

The organization is a well-established and proved body of white and colored people, including many men and women of prominence, and their purpose—not "stirring up racial discontent"—is a highly patriotic one.

The governor's attitude toward their representative illustrates very well indeed both the sort of feeling that influences many Mexicans in judging well-intentioned Americans and the narrow and unreasonable at-

titude to which the feeling leads. It is the Hobbys of Mexico that make it difficult to establish a friendly understanding between the neighboring countries as it is the Hobbys of Texas who thwart the purposes of Americans to set their own house in order.

The Negro problem in this country has never been a problem of the South alone, but more than ever before the problem is now local as well as general in the North also. Both regions are in the same boat. Since the wartime northward exodus of Negroes first reached considerable numbers, examples of race friction in the North have multiplied. Sinister influences may have been at work to encourage this friction, but it can largely be accounted for by the inadequate facilities for caring for the newcomers. Both materially and spiritually they were unprovided for. Housing was of the worst. Opportunities for schooling and for suitable recreation were wanting. Not all of their leaders have been wise. No doubt in many individual cases Negroes have been the aggressors. As such no one questions that they should be dealt with; but as individuals. Deliberately making a race suffer for the sins of its actual or suspected offenders is a deep root of the evil.

Better housing, better schooling greater opportunities for wisely improving leisure, protection of legal rights, encouragement in the sort of enterprise that gives training for good citizenship, co-operation between the races in solving their mutual problem; these are some of the needs of the situation which the North has had forcibly brought before it. And there seems no reason to suppose that it is essentially different from the situation in the South. But however the problem may vary in detail from place to place, nothing is surer than that its solution cannot be helped by the spirit or the tactics of the present governor of Texas.

BEATING OF SHILLADY

PUT UP TO CONGRESS

New York, August 26.—On the ground that Governor William P. Hobby, of Texas, "approves and condones" the assault made by public officials and others at Austin, Texas, last Friday on John R. Shillady, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the association tonight adopted resolutions calling upon congress to investigate the case, and urging President Wilson to appoint a committee to report on the "outrageous" attack.

PUSSYFOOTING PULPIT PIMPS.

The Houston Informer is sorely disgusted and exasperated at the actions and antics of the so-called leaders of the race, who are courting the nomen of "good niggers" in the placating and publicity-seeking role in which they are attempting to serve during the present period.

These men are proving by the easy manner in which they are excited and their proneness to show their nervousness and yellow streak when the least flurry occurs that they are totally unfit and unqualified for leadership of a bunch of cattle, to say nothing of a race of people.

The race's status must be materially altered in this country both by sane, sensible and manly efforts from within and without its racial unit. But with a bunch of "me-too-boss" and "no cause for complaint" darkies running to the public press giving out statements that they do not approve themselves, but which they do for expediency's sake, in order to get their mitts greased and use the white man as a convenience—with such political pussyfooters under the guise of racial amity betraying and selling out their race simply to appear as what they aren't, the colored race's lot in this country, particularly the South, is anything but a pleasant and pleasing one.

Any reputed colored leader who issues the statement in the press or utters it from the platform or pulpit, that there is "no cause for complaint" on the part of the colored race in Dixie is either a dyed-in-the-wool pussyfooting biped or a fit subject for an insane asylum.

With mobs daily lynching and burning colored Americans, both male, female and children; with jim-crow cars, affording second to 'steenth class service, while the race is forced to pay first-class fare; with disfranchisement, segregation and the autocratic class and color spirit so rife against the black man in this country in spite of his character and contributions for the peace, progress and perpetuity of this Republic; with the courts of justice refusing to mete out just and deserving punishment to those of other racial units, who wreak out their hellish and Hunnish meanness and cus- sedness upon colored Americans; with officers who take oaths to enforce and preserve the law violating same and leading mobs to do violence to American citizens; with ministers of the gospel (Lord, have mercy!) participating in the demonstrations and orgies of murder and arson; with governors and other high officials condoning and encouraging race prejudice and lynch law with taxation without representation, which the early fathers declared to be tyranny and which gave birth to the American Republic by overthrowing the repressive and oppressive British yoke with the pressing into service of every fair and foul means to destroy whatever ambitious spirit the black man might possess in his breast and thus "keep the nigger in his place;" with the daily employment of countless un-American, undemocratic and un-Christian practices and customs upon the colored Americans, any man who can see "no cause for complaint" needs to be examined by a board of alienists and his sanity determined.

These lying grandstand players and infernal notoriety seekers may fool all of the white folks some of the time; they may fool some of the white folks all the time, but they can't fool all the white folks all the time. They are not fooling their own people, for we know them: know where they came from and where they are "g'wine."

It is high time that our pulpits were occupied by men and not by pussyfooting pimps, praters and parrots, who will sell their race and its interests for "30 pieces of silver." If one doubts their insincerity and hypocrisy, let him examine the records of the breweries and discover how the ministerial brethren of the race were employed as tools by that extinct octopus, which held Texas in its tenacles for many years.

We have in mind the Austin divine, who seems to be obsessed with a bad case of oral diarrhoea and unnecessary excitement, who came out with a long statement recently on the race question.

To show how his thought tank was operating, one has but to read his statement carefully and while it is the "voice of Jacob it is the hand of Esau."

In the beginning Bre'r Lee Campbell, who is known throughout the country as a splitter and who assisted in tearing asunder the Baptist family in Texas as well as the National Baptist Convention, said that there is "no cause for complaint" on the part of his race in the South, and then before he concludes his say invites "de white folks" to a conference to consider and study conditions, which in the offstart he admitted did not exist. Some logic!

But that is just proof conclusive of how inconsistent, incongruous and inconstant such so-called leaders are. For instance, in Texas he favors an incorporated convention; but when it comes to the entire country "little Lee" does not favor incorporation. He was largely to blame for disrupting the Baptist household in Texas on the same issue virtually that he now endeavors to flaunt before the public.

But he thought he saw an opportunity to get some cheap notoriety and be held up before the race as an example worthy of emulation: as a "race leader" well satisfied with his lot and that of his brothers in this country. Suppose Moses had taken such a position when the Israelites were in bondage in Egypt (and the colored race is in bondage right now in the South) and had come out in the Egyptian public press condemning those within his race who were anxious to get from under the oppression of Pharaoh (and there is a multiplicity of Pharaohs in this country today) and to breathe the pure and undefiled ozone of freedom. Suppose he had told those in authority that there is "no cause for complaint" on the part of "my" people and that those who cry for liberation are agitators and trouble-breeders. If Moses had betrayed or forsaken his race in such a trying time, it is doubtful if Bre'r Campbell would have his present sinecure job of guiding his flock in the paths of rectitude and right.

There is not a sensible and sane member of the race that encourages racial enmity; but when any people have been so unjustly and brutally treated as the Americans of color and that without cause; when any people are driven from pillar to post and denied the protection of the law; when their daughters, wives and sisters are daily and hourly insulted by men of other races; when they are the victims of proscription because the Great Creator did not permit their color to be identical with other races; when they have just emerged from a titanic martial conflict where they fought, bled and died for the rights and liberties of others while they, themselves, are kept in abject slavery and servitude and when they seek to alter their status are accused of seeking "social equality" and fomenting racial strife; when their sons and daughters are taught out of the same books that other racial units study and trained to think like authors of other races and have similar yearnings and desires; when it is remembered that millions of the race never were involuntary slaves and serfs and know absolutely nothing of that brutal and barbarous institution, only what their forbears narrate to them; when it is considered that this is a new era, bringing forth new conditions and new customs and practices—that man is blind or crazy indeed who can see "no cause for complaint" on the part of the black race in the South.

The following lines somewhat denote the prayer and plea of the colored race in this country, which is suffering terribly for lack of true and tried leaders:

"GOD GIVE US MEN! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office can not kill,
MEN WHOM THE SPOILS OF OFFICE CANNOT BUY,
Men who POSSESS OPINIONS and WILL,
Men who have HONOR, men who will not LIE,
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Tall men, sun crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking."

McNew York Aug 8-30-79
The attack on John R. Shillady, Secretary of the National

Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a few days ago in Austin, Texas, is, so far as we know, the first instance of the kind that has happened since Reconstruction. Before the Civil War a number of prominent white men were subjected to mob violence and even to death because of the stand which they took against slavery. And during Reconstruction there is no doubt that a great many of the Northern white men and women who went South were treated rough on account of sentiments expressed in favor of fair play and justice for the Negro. But it had seemed that the time had long passed when a white person, especially one of prominence, would suffer anything more than bitter criticism or stracism on account of any action or utterance in behalf of the Negro in the South.

It is evident from the Austin incident, however, that we have a return of the spirit of the days of the Ku Klux; except that it is more daring. In the days of the Ku Klux the cowards went about under the cover of darkness, and even then they masked their faces. But Shillady was mobbed in broad daylight, about ten-thirty in the morning, in front of the leading hotel of the capital city of Texas.

N.A.A.C.P. - 1919.

The men who participated in the mobbing were not masked nor were they unknown. The leaders were the County Judge and a constable of his court.

And not only were county officials active participators in this disgraceful affair, but the governor of the state also took a hand later. When he was asked by the organization whose officer had been assaulted what was being done to punish the offenders, he replied that Shillady was the only offender and he was adequately punished before the inquiry arrived.

What democracy, what respect for law and order, what common decency can be left in Texas when officials of the state, from the governor on down, have no regard for the one or the other?

The charge made against Mr. Shillady was that he was in Austin for the purpose of inciting the colored people to riot. This charge is too absurd for consideration. But even so, he could have been arrested and tried on it. Mr. Shillady's business in Austin was absolutely legitimate. He went as the chief executive officer of a great organization which has more than 7,000 members in Texas. The members of the local branches are among the most intelligent and law abiding citizens of the State. These facts alone should have entitled Mr. Shillady to courtesy. Furthermore, as proof of the legitimacy of his errand, he had telegraphed both the Governor and the Attorney General of Texas that he was coming and asked for an appointment with them. These are not the actions of a man going to conspire with people to riot. But above all, regardless of his connection with a great organization, Mr. Shillady was an American citizen and as such, he was entitled to the protection of the laws of the State of Texas.

Of course, the white people of Austin and every other Southern community are trembling in their shoes over the fear of Negro uprisings. And why shouldn't they tremble? God knows, if I were a Southern white man with anything resembling a conscience I would not be able to sleep at night, knowing the injustice which I and my race had done the Negro.

But the white people of Austin and other Southern communities are not going to be able to still those fears by beating up either white men or black men who are taking a stand for fair play and justice. If anything, such actions will only hasten the very thing of which they fear.

The official thugs of Austin not only broke the law, disgraced their offices and committed a crime when they mobbed Mr. Shillady, they did what the whole South has been doing all along in its dealing with the Negro, they committed a huge blunder. Their action has not taken the heart out of the colored people, it has only strengthened their determination. Their action has not lessened Mr. Shillady's influence, it has only magnified it ten thousand fold.

THE MOST SERIOUS PERIL.
The only really disheartening element in the Austin affair is contained in the report that it was brought about by the minister of a prominent colored church going to a Texas Ranger and telling him that the N. A. A. C. P. was banding the colored people together in Texas for the purpose of inciting them to riot and for the purpose of gaining "social equality". When The Age is able to verify this report it is going to publish this man's name to the world. The whole race should know him and his deed, and should settle on a fixed policy for dealing with him and his kind.

The most serious peril to the race in the South to-day is in these apostates, these Judas Iscariots. We have always had them, and they have always been capable of doing some damage; but to-day, on account of the psychic state of the white South, on account of its panic stricken condition, they are an absolute menace. Any orderly and legitimate meeting of protest held by colored people may be reported by one of these cowardly knaves to the white people as a meeting to incite to riot, and the result might be a massacre of innocents.

The race should seek these fellows out and mark them; and not

only mark them but deal with them. And how shall they be dealt with? Among some peoples they would be consigned to the Black Hand; but we are not a Black Hand people. What we should do is to inflict upon them the strictest, the severest, the most complete ostracism possible. We should cut them off, throw them out, and make them feel and realize that they are men without a race.

Every organization in the country that is striving for justice for the Negro is threatened by this danger; and not even our fraternal organizations and churches are free from it. It is necessary then that we take immediate steps to protect the race from the skulking enemies within.

THE TEXAS MOB LAW.
The attack upon the life of Mr. John R. Shillady, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People a few days ago by a mob in front of the State Capitol Building Austin, Texas, is what may be properly called "serving notice upon all whom it may concern, that the State of Texas has no law and order so far as Negroes' rights are concerned. So determined and so desperate are the white people of the South to keep the Negro down and in a semi-state of slavery, that it has become dangerous for a white man of the best blood to even say the Negroes are entitled to better treatment.

To justify the cowardly and unwarranted attack upon Mr. Shillady, they gave out a prejudicial and false statement to the Associated Press that Shillady was teaching the Negroes "Social Equality." When, as a matter of fact, Mr. Shillady was devoting his time and attention trying to see the Governor and other high state officials, using every argument and pleading with these officials, trying to convince them that "Equality before the law" was the thing that they should give the Negro, and that was what the National Association stood for. He was hauled before one of their "Kangaroo Courts," the way that hundreds of Negroes have gone, and insult upon insult was thrust upon him.

To their questions Mr. Shillady answered with much intelligence and precision. He was more than a match for his opponents; and his superior intelligence angered these petty officers the more. They dismissed their court and formed "Judge Lynch's" Court (the mob) and made a bodily attack on Mr. Shillady with the Judge and Sheriff as the leaders.

This action shows conclusively the utter disregard that the officers of the state have for law and order. Decent and respectable citizens will only feel safe in their midst when they are surrounded by a crowd of friends.

The South is fast drifting. She is falling farther and farther behind in the onward march of civilization. The Governor of Texas, like the Governor of Mississippi, has declared the State powerless to protect citizens from mob violence. The United States Government owes it to every citizen to protect him at home as well as abroad.

THE ASSAULT ON SHILLADY.
The colored citizens of the country resent the brutal beating given to John R. Shillady, the brave and strenuous Caucasian secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people, by the white men of Austin, Texas, last Friday. Patriotic Americans without regard to creed or color will resent this Southern mob outrage against a Northern gentleman, who within his constitutional rights, urged by his zeal as an American and a lover of right and justice, was seeking to aid colored citizens to organize for their own advancement. The nation must investigate and punish this violation of an American citizen's rights, deliberately mobbed and driven from town in broad daylight by prominent hoodlums of the capital of Texas. The South in general and Texas in particular will be wise to prosecute these outlaws if they want to stop public opinion in the North from crystalizing against her. History repeats itself. Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts was brutally beaten by Preston Brooks of South Carolina in the United States Senate. South Carolina exulted, her white women gave him a cane upon which was inscribed, "Hit Him Again," and his brutality in avenging the assaults of Sumner against slavery was justified. The nation that was humane and patriotic rose at once in its wrath and smote slavery and its beastly avengers their death blow. The assault on Shillady, dastardly and damnable as it is, will not be in vain. It will do more to awaken the nation as to the barbarism and depravity and menace of the white South to the Republic than will the burnings of a dozen black expectant mothers. Let the Congress in Washington note this straw which tells the direction of the Southern wind. Act, and act now!

New York News. 8-30-19

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Texas Mob Severely Maul John R. Shillady; County Judge And Constable Head Crowd Of Ruffians; N. A. A. C. P. Demands Retribution

The Daily Herald
Austin, Texas, August 22—John R. Shillady, a white man, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was severely beaten and placed on board an outbound train for St. Louis today.

Assaulted by Cracker Judge and Constable.

County Judge Dave J. Pickle, of Travis county, declared that Shillady had been "inciting Negroes against the whites," and had previously been

warned to leave Austin. Judge Pickle said the attack on Shillady was made by himself, Constable Charles Hamby and Ben Pierce, none of whom, he declared, would shirk responsibility in the matter. He emphasized the fact that he and his companions were acting unofficially, however.

Had Been Attending N. A. A. C. P. Meeting.

Mr. Shillady was returning from a meeting with Negroes. Judge Pickle declared, in describing the attack.

his actions were inciting Negroes against whites and would cause trouble, and warned him to leave town. I told him OUR (the caps ours) Negroes would cause no trouble if left alone. Then I whipped him and ordered to leave, because I thought it was for the best interest of Austin and the state."

Severely Mauled by Ruffians.

Waco, Texas, August 22.—With a wide, dark circle around his right eye and cuts and other bruises on his face, John R. Shillady, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who was attacked by a crowd of ruffians in Austin today, passed through here late today enroute to St. Louis. He said 8 or 10 men attacked him, but so far as he knew they used only their fists.

Was There to Confer with Governor. Mr. Shillady said his visit to Texas was in the interest of the association. He declared the association did not have social equality between whites and Negroes for its object, as reported from Austin, but was concerned with questions of policy and special efforts to prevent lynchings.

He said he had intended to confer with Governor W. P. Hobby and Attorney General C. M. Cureton at the state capital in Austin. The Governor was out of the city and he conferred with one of his assistants in the attorney general's office. While the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has not been chartered in Texas, there are several branches of the organization in the state, he said, and his visit had to do with securing a charter.

Shillady said he did not plan to make any further stops in Texas. He said he was not prepared to state what action his association would take as a result of the attack.

Officials of N. A. A. C. P. Demand Retribution.

New York, August 22.—Officials

of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People tonight sent a telegram to Governor Hobbey of Texas, inquiring "what efforts are being made at once to punish the offenders" who administered a beating to John R. Shillady, secretary of the organization. It was asserted that "every effort will be made to secure retribution for this outrageous assault."

NEGRO ADVOCATE BEATEN BY TEXANS Constitution 8-22-19 And Forced to Leave the State—Shillady Is White, But Is Secretary of Association for Advancement of Negroes.

Austin, Texas, August 22.—J. R. Shillady, a white man, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who was beaten and placed on board an outbound train for St. Louis today, had been "inciting negroes against the whites," and had been previously warned to leave Austin, according to County Judge Dave J. Pickle, of Travis county, tonight.

The attack on Shillady, Judge Pickle said, was made by himself, Constable Charles Hamby and Ben Pierce, none of whom, he declared, would shirk responsibility in the matter. Judge Pickle emphasized, however, that he and his companions were acting unofficially.

Shillady was returning from a meeting with negroes, Judge Pickle declared, in describing the attack. "I told him (Shillady)," the judge said later, "that his actions were inciting the negroes against the whites and would cause trouble, and warned him to leave town. I told him our negroes would cause no trouble if left alone. I whipped him and ordered him to leave because I thought it was for the best interest of Austin and the state."

Shillady came to Austin yesterday and, visiting the attorney general's department, made inquiry concerning the operation of "foreign corporations" in Texas, and asked why a local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had been disbanded here two weeks ago. He was told the association had no permit to do business in Texas and that

the disbanding of the branch was entirely in the hands of local authorities.

Advocating Social Equality.

Shillady then went to the adjutant general's department, it is said, and asked why the Texas rangers were interfering with his association. Assistant Adjutant General W. D. Cope is said to have replied that the rangers have been investigating organizations among negroes since the race riots at Longview, about a month ago, and had found that the teaching of the advancement association "which advocates racial equality," was creating trouble between the races.

Late yesterday Shillady was haled before a "court of inquiry," the proceedings of which have not been disclosed. Judge Pickle says at this time he warned Shillady to leave Austin because he was creating trouble.

Shortly before noon today Shillady held a conference with negroes and while returning to his hotel was accosted by Judge Pickle, Hamby and Pierce. Constable Hamby, according to the county judge, asked Shillady why he was holding meetings and "stirring up more trouble than Austin citizens can get rid of in ten years."

"You don't see my point of view," answered Shillady, according to Pickle.

"I'll fix you so you can't see," replied Hamby, as he struck Shillady in the eye with his fist.

Judge Pickle says he and Pierce joined in the fray and Shillady was beaten until his face bled freely and he "asked for mercy."

Shillady then was escorted to the station where he purchased a ticket for St. Louis, and left Austin with a final warning by Constable Hamby not to stop in the limits of Texas.

There was no indication that local negroes resented the affair. Shillady's Story of Assault. Waco, Texas, August 22.—With a wide dark circle around his right eye, and cuts and contusions on face and lips, John R. Shillady, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who was attacked by a crowd and ordered out of Austin today, passed through Waco on his way to St. Louis. Eight or ten men attacked him in front of his hotel, Shillady said, but did not, so far as he knew, use anything but their fists.

Shillady declared his visit to Texas was in the interest of the association of which he is secretary. The association, he declared, did not have social equality between whites and negroes for its object, as reported at Austin, but was concerned with questions of policy and special efforts to prevent lynchings.

At the state capital, he said, he had intended to confer with Governor W. P. Hobby and Attorney General C. M. Cureton. The governor was out of the city and he conferred with one of the assistants in the attorney general's office. While the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has not been chartered in Texas, there were several branches of the organization in the state, he said, and his visit had to do with obtaining a charter.

Shillady said he did not plan to make any further stops in Texas and was not prepared to state what action his association would take as a result of the attack upon him.

self.

Shillady Feared Racial Troubles.

Dallas, Texas, August 22.—J. R. Shillady, who was beaten and sent out of Austin today, declared during a brief stop of his train en route to St. Louis here tonight, that he left the state capital "for fear" that his presence "might provoke racial strife." He declares he was attacked by a "mob" while returning from a visit to the attorney general's office.

Shillady handed newspapermen the following statement:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was formed ten years ago by prominent whites and blacks in the north. . . .

"The association has its origin as a protest against lynching and race riots. Matters were in such a condition in 1909 that it was deemed best to have an association to promote more harmonious relations between the negro and white race, and to see that in all cases the constitutional rights of the negro were secured.

"My purpose in visiting Austin was to confer with the attorney general of the state. There had been some question as to the eligibility of negroes belonging to the association because we did not have a charter.

"After I left the attorney general's office and returned to my hotel, I was accosted by a mob led by a prominent citizen and a constable. After the attack, I decided to stay in Austin, but later reversed my decision for fear it might provoke racial strife.

"I am chief executive officer of the association and the decision rests with me as to whether we will attempt to secure any redress for the treatment I received in Austin. I am undecided as to whether I will prosecute my assailants.

"Both the mayor of Austin and the attorney general of the state were courteous to me after the attack. The mayor furnished me with police protection. This is the first time the efforts of the association have met with an attack of this sort."

"Retribution" Is Demanded.

New York, August 22.—Officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People tonight sent a telegram to Governor Hobby, of Texas, inquiring "what efforts are being made at once to punish the offenders" who administered a beating today to John R. Shillady, secretary of the organization. It was asserted that "every effort will be made to secure retribution for this outrageous assault."

JUDGE WHIPS MAN AS "NEGRO INCITER"

PHILADELPHIA PA PRESS
AUGUST 23, 1919

Texas Jurist Beats White Secretary of Colored Organization and Puts Him on Train.

By Associated Press.

Austin, Tex., Aug. 22.—John R. Shillady, a white man, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people, was severely beaten and placed on board an outbound train for St. Louis today.

County Judge Dave "J. Pickle, Travis County, declared that Shillady had been "inciting negroes against the whites," and had previously been warned to leave Austin. Judge Pickle said the attack on Shillady was made by himself, Constable Charles Hamby and Ben Pierce, none of whom, he de-

clared, would shirk responsibility in the matter. He emphasized the fact that he and his companions were acting un-officially, however.

Shillady was returning from a meeting with negroes, Judge Pickle declared in describing the attack.

"I told him," the Judge said, "that his actions were inciting the negroes against the whites and would cause trouble, and warned him to leave town. I told him our negroes would cause no trouble if left alone. Then I whipped him and ordered him to leave because I thought it was for the best interest of Austin and the State."

TEXANS IN BRUTAL ASSAULT ON NEGRO

AUSTIN, Tex., Aug. 22.—John R. Shillady of New York, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was severely beaten in front of his hotel here today and ordered to catch the first train out of town. The beating was administered by several men, following a meeting held with Negroes by Shillady. He agreed to leave town at once.

FIND WACO NEGROES ORGANIZING BRANCH OF ST. LOUIS CLUB

Divergent views are presented in Waco among the colored people with regard to the good that might or might not be accomplished by organizing a branch of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, the headquarters of which are far removed from Waco. The nearest national officer, it is said, is in St. Louis, and a general discussion of the matter among members of the Waco Forum found that representative organizations of colored people were opposed to the formation of a branch at Waco. But a branch has been organized among some of the colored people anyway, with Dr. J. W. Strong as president and C. H. Furlow as secretary.

Say Conservation Motto

A charter has been applied for, stated President Strong Saturday afternoon, and the charter is expected before next Sunday, when it is proposed to hold the first meeting.

Conservatism is indicated, however, in the selection of Dr. Strong as the president, as he ranks as a careful colored man. Rev. J. A. Jenkins, also a prominent colored man, is a strong advocate and champion of the organization, claiming that he looks for good results therefrom.

"I think the first meeting will be held next Sunday, August 31, and I want to be there and see that everything is run all right," said President Strong Saturday afternoon. He indicated that conservatism will be a dominant note in the organization, and asked a representative of the News-Tribune to be present at the meeting

and see first-hand how matters are to be conducted.

Forum Opposes Branch

Meanwhile the Forum, of which Tom Sheppard is president, is opposed to the formation of a branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Waco, and after prolonged discussion, took a vote and went on record strongly against it. Some members of the organization expressed the opinion that it might be a good thing for the colored people here, but others expressed the view that it might simply entangle the members in some way; that if any questions should arise in Waco these questions could be more easily settled through local channels than by the aid of a national organization with headquarters far away; that there was quite an expense, also, for those belonging, with dues of about a dollar a year per member. The Forum is an undenominational organization of representative colored people, with every church of the race in Waco represented, with possibly one or two exceptions.

Austin Judge Who Smashed Shillady Is Congratulated

DALLAS TEX TIMES HERALD
AUGUST 24, 1919
Austin, Texas, Aug. 23.—Congratulations from many parts of the state have been received by County Judge D. J. Pickle upon his participation in the beating administered to John R. Shillady, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, here last Friday. Mayor C. T. Greenwood of Luling wired "The citizens of Luling heartily indorse your actions in driving Shillady from Texas."

J. H. Tallichet of Houston wired, "Good boy, wish I had been there."

THE CASE OF SHILLADY.

The "direct action" method by which a group of men, headed by a court judge, proceeded to rid their community of the disturbing presence of John R. Shillady, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York, is not without palliatory surroundings. 8-24-19

Shillady, according to authentic news reports, was man-handled on the streets of Austin, Texas, by three men, one of whom was a judge of the county court, and another a court constable. Then he was led to the railroad station, placed aboard an outgoing train and warned not to disembark short of the state line.

At last accounts Shillady was still headed northward—but perhaps not in the direction of Chicago!

The incident is not to be condoned, especially the participation

of officials of the court; but there was even less justification for the methods pursued by the victim of the assault in the prosecution of his alleged mission to the south. The evident purpose of his peregrinations in Texas and other southern states in a large measure mitigates the breach of law admittedly committed by his assailants.

Shillady came to the south ostensibly to further "the advancement of colored people."

But that is precisely what he was not doing!

His methods of procedure were to circulate among the peaceful, contented colored people, address them singly, in groups and in their meetings, and, by recounting to them in magnified, exaggerated and hyperbolic phrases instances of alleged atrocities committed against them by the white people, in the north as well as in the south, he sought thus to arouse their resentment, inflame their minds and incite them to acts of violence in an imagined spirit of self-protection.

That is what he was doing in Texas when his sojourn was rudely and abruptly terminated.

Our negroes as a whole are contented and prosperous. They are getting along nicely and living peacefully in communities that know and understand them.

If left free from interference by agitators who do not know their nature, and who have not the negro's best interests at heart, there will be no "negro problem" in the south, and the negro will get full justice.

In the light of recent occurrences in Chicago and other centers in the north and east, the trouble-makers of the organization Mr. Shillady represents have close to home all the opportunity for service they can perform, without coming down here to stir up racial strife and bitterness and incite the peaceful colored people against people who are their best friends.

When Mr. Shillady seeks to array the negroes against the whites and to inspire them with the hallucination that the whites are their enemies, he is working a direct harm to both races, and when engaged in such work his room is to be preferred to his presence.

JOHN R. SHILLADY

The attack made recently by Texans upon the person of John R. Shillady, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, following an address at Houston, Texas, can only accentuate the determination of that splendid man, and further fire the spirit of the splendid organization of which he is the very capable executive.

Shillady represents a type of the Americanism which runs true to the lofty ideals of justice and freedom and liberty upon which this great commonwealth was founded. He is the same spirit which inspired Lovejoy and Sumner and Phillips in the stormy days forerunning the Civil war. His is the will which force cannot terrorize and intimidate and subdue.

Mr. Shillady represents a great principle—a program of latter-day abolition and emancipation. Attacking the man does not destroy the principle nor weaken its program. That principle and that program are founded on right and cannot succumb to force and intimidation, cannot yield. It will go on, however, gaining force through the days when men think more and more, are more and more moved by their convictions of right and fair play, and feel the courage to enlist in the cause.

Those who respect law and order will not warm up over the arbitrary and evasive reply of Governor Hobby to an inquiry from the National Headquarters regarding the punishing those who made the attack. They see in it a yielding to the spirit of the mob, and a determination to support the old traditions of oppression which cumber the South. They come to realize that the temper of the South on this issue has reached the point of desperation, and that the "old guard" is entrenched to make a "last stand."

Many of the prominent newspapers of the country have rightfully charged that it is a shame and disgrace upon our civilization that such a thing has been allowed to occur without vigorous steps being taken to punish those responsible for it.

It ought to cause a re-awakening and re-affirmation of determination among big thinking Americans, who love our ideals of justice and fair play, and ought to come a great many of those who have been passive on the program which Mr. Shillady represents to take a forceful hand in supporting him. We believe it will.

If we recall the days leading up to the crisis which brought about emancipation to Negroes in America we see an era and a condition, in all respects, analogous to the present, and there is every hope that those whose cause is founded on right will prevail.

We shall watch the further attitude of the Texans in this matter and see if there is left there any public sentiment to uphold the traditions and virtues which have made America foremost in the international councils of democracy and peace.

N. A. A. C. P. — 1919.

WHITE N. A. A. C. P. SEC'Y IS MOBBED IN AUSTIN, TEX.

The St. Louis Argus 8-29-19
John R. Shillady Of New York, Severely Beaten By White Men, Led By Judge and Constable. Appeals To Wilson For An Investigation.

AUSTIN, TEX., Aug. 22.—John R. Shillady of New York, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was severely beaten in front of his hotel here today and ordered to catch the first train out of town. The beating was administered by several men following a meeting held with Negroes by Shillady. Mr. Shillady was assaulted on the street near his hotel just before noon Friday, after he had been in a conference with some of the leaders of the Austin branch of the organization. In the party attacking him were County Judge David J. Pickle, Constable Charles Hamby and a civilian named Ben Pierce. These men admitted their participation in the assault, and said they were prepared to assume full responsibility for their actions.

Mr. Shillady arrived in St. Louis Saturday night, enroute to New York. His right eye was discolored and partly closed, his nose and lips cut in several places and he showed several scratches. He was cordially greeted by a number of members of the St. Louis branch. The following statement given out by Mr. Shillady is a true version of what happened in the Texas city:

Attacked by Mob.

"The newspaper accounts I have read say that the assault was made by three men, but this is incorrect, as there were at least six and more likely eight. In addition to Judge Pickle, and the Constable Hamby there was an automobile filled with about the toughest looking set of men I had seen in a long while, and my travels have taken me into all sorts of places, since I began work of this character. They attacked me from behind, struck me repeatedly in the face and when I went down on the sidewalk one of their number kicked me in the side. That place hurts me just a little bit more than some of the other bruises.

"In view of what happened down there I think the public should have

all the facts, and I am ready to tell the entire story, without the slightest garnishment. Heaven knows the facts are bad enough. Last Sunday, on returning to my office in New York City after a brief vacation in the Adirondacks, I received word that the branch of our organization in Austin had been summoned into court to present its books and papers and at the same time the president and secretary were called before the Adjutant-General and the Captain of the Texas State Rangers.

"This piece of information was of such importance that I decided to go there in person and ascertain why an organization headed by some of the best people in the country who were not working for any purpose other than to bring about a better understanding between the white and colored races and which had important branches in 40 of the 48 states, should receive such treatment in the capital of Texas.

Wanted to See Governor.

"I did absolutely nothing while in Austin to offend anyone, unless my presence there as the secretary of a national body which only aims to deal justly with the Negro and discourage violence on account of racial prejudice was in itself offensive.

"I set out early to call on Governor Hobby and found a sign there announcing that he was out. I then went to the Attorney-General's office and found that he also was absent. I did succeed in finding the acting attorney-general, W. A. Keeling, who gave me a fairly clear idea of what had led up to the official inquiry into the Austin Branch of our association. He told me his department was not conducting an investigation, but that an inquiry had been instituted by the Adjutant-General's department on account of reported activities among Negroes in different parts of the state. These reports, it seems, had it that in some quarters colored men were buying rifles. I then sought the Adjutant and found that he too was away.

I finally succeeded in meeting Col. W.

D. Cope and had some conversation with him. I soon discovered that this office, like the Attorney-General's was greatly concerned over the circulation of colored publications in Texas. In the course of these conversations, I remarked that Texas should be big enough to tolerate minority opinion. The idea of even educated Negroes having ideas of their own, was resented, and it seemed the conviction that the only good Negroes there, were those who did as they were told by the white people.

"I called the attention of these officials to the prominence of the white men who were supporting the work of the National Association, and even pointed out the personnel of those Southerners who signed the appeal against lynching which led up to the large conference held last May in New York City. The first name on this list in the alphabetical order of the States is that of Former-Governor Emmet O'Neal of Alabama, and there are many others including ministers, editors, publishers and other leading exponents of American thought. I showed also the names of the editor of the Houston Post and that of Dean W. S. Sutton of the University of Texas, but I could not overcome the deeprooted antipathy that showed itself so violently the next day. That same afternoon, I saw the president of the Austin branch of the Association, who is reputable Negro physician of good standing who enjoys the respect of the white people as well as those of his own race.

Haled Into "Secret Hearing."

"Thursday evening about 6 o'clock as I was about to step into my hotel I was handed a summons by Con

ernor W. P. Hobby, in a telegram today to officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said John R. Shillady, the organization's secretary, who was beaten and ordered out of Austin yesterday, was "the only offender in connection with the matter."

The telegram sent by the governor was in reply to an inquiry from the chairman of the organization, asking what efforts were being made to punish those who attacked Shillady. The governor's reply was:

"Shillady was the only offender in connection with the matter referred to in your telegram, and he was punished before your inquiry came.

"Your organization can contribute more to the advancement of both races by keeping your representatives and their propaganda out of this state than in any other way."

The telegram to the governor, which was signed by Mary White Ovington, said "Mr. Shillady is a man of great importance in New York," listed a number of organizations he had served as secretary and concluded:

"He was in Texas on the rightful errand of meeting members of the Austin branch of this organization. We are asking you what efforts are being made at once to punish the offenders."

There was no official information obtainable today as to what transpired while Shillady was before the court of inquiry yesterday, as the court is the same as a grand jury under Texas laws. It was said unofficially, however, that Shillady had been questioned regarding his attitude and that of his association toward social equality.

EASTON FREE PRESS

AUGUST 30, 1919

THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO RACE

The reference in these columns to the troubles of a white representative of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, who went into Texas to enlist Negroes in the association, seem to have been but partly understood by at least one of our readers, for we are in receipt of the following letter bearing on the subject:

"Having read in the Easton Free Press, August 26, an article entitled, 'Misleading Negroes.' I have become much interested as I think that the article may mislead some people.

As we have a branch of the same association mentioned in the article known as the Easton Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and of which I am a member, I beg to say that the sole purpose of such an association in Easton and I believe in other places, is to help the advancement of our race along all lines which tend to make an honorable race and would like to say and for the public to know that we are not seeking social equality between the two races, but equal rights as all law abiding citizens in this republic.

I hope sincerely that there will be no ill feeling because of such work.

There seems to be a difference of understanding as to the purposes of the association as outlined by the radical who went to Texas and was ordered out of the state and as contained in this

letter, written by a Negro living in Easton, and it is just this difference that is bound to work harm, unless members of the black race in this country are careful in the selection of the men whom they appoint to represent them. The writer tells the object of the association, and no one can say that the purposes are not just, right and proper. The dangerous ground is social equality, and the writer of the letter says that "We are not seeking social equality." That is doubtless the reply that every well meaning Negro in this country will make. Every intelligent member of the race, and evidently, the writer of this letter is in that class, knows this cannot be. But the white man who went into Texas was there to tell the Negroes that social equality was to be fought for. He knew better and he was misleading the colored people he came in contact with. He purposed to stir them up with false promises and unsound ideas. As we said in our previous article, the sensible element of the black race knows better and will not hear of propositions of this kind, and this element also knows how easily the ignorant Negro of the far South is deceived and mislead.

An association such as the writer of the letter is connected with, which strives to elevate the race to obtain its rights, equal rights under the law, ought to be able to affect a great deal of good and it should be the first to frown upon any statements by any of its representatives which belie the real work before it. There has been a wonderful work accomplished for the Negro in the United States and if it is to continue the best element in the race must insist that the hopes and aims of the race are fairly stated and that above all things, its own race members must not be deluded with false statements; nor stirred up by radical agitators. The ignorant Negroes of the far South have been too long played upon, preyed upon too, for that matter, and none realize this more than those fortunate members of the race who have obtained enlightenment and who, by living for a time at least outside the pale of ignorance among their southern brethren, look to the future from a new viewpoint and realize what must be done to attain to better things. The future of the race lies not in the agitator but in the thinking, sober, sensible members of the race, such as the Easton letter writer may well be said to be, who closes the letter by saying "I hope sincerely that there will be no ill feeling because of such work." Why should there be? It is a good work and it should be encouraged.

**SHILLADY GOT DESERTS,
SAYS TEXAS GOVERNOR**
The Constitution
8-24-19

Austin, Texas, August 23.—Gov-

TEACHING THE SOUTH ITS DUTY TO THE NEGRO

AUGUST 23, 1919

The manhandling in Austin, Texas, of J. R. Shillady, the white secretary of the National Association for Advancement of the Colored People, by peace officers and citizens of Austin, who resented the stranger's visit and activities directed to the organization of a local branch of his association, charging him with stirring up trouble, with inciting the negroes against the whites, and warning him to leave Texas, after pummeling him with their fists and putting him on a train on his way, is unfortunate and deplorable in that it will revive the race agitation that had begun to quiet down once more following the race riots in Washington and Chicago and in that it will give our sectional friends, "the enemy," at the north and in the west a new-old string to harp upon about the "high-handed" and "barbarous" Southern methods and a much-needed excuse for diversion from the contemplation of northern and western methods of mobbing the race in a mass. We can never cease to deprecate and denounce mob law and extra-legal methods in handling the race matter or any other problem in the South. The white people have all the machinery of the government, the law and the courts of justice in their hands and if they cannot preserve law and order and administer justice without resort to violence and lawlessness the fault is in them and they must to just that extent confess to their deficiency as a governing people.

But we must own up to a secret and vicious impulse of not unpleasant nature that the victim of the mob method in this instance was a white man and stranger who, from whatever high and worthy, if mistaken notion, took upon himself the mission and responsibility of reforming the relations of the races of Austin and of informing and instructing the white and colored people of that benighted city and vicinity in their proper attitude and duties toward each other. And we are not without some compunction of sympathy for the sentiment of the pugilistic "Judge," who stoutly claimed self-defense for his community and himself against a trouble-breeder from Washington, in view of the outcome of the application of the stranger's principles as illustrated in the pitched war of the races there that so shamed the nation and awakened the people in

every section to the imminent menace of the race war that sooner or later must be fought out and settled by the extermination of one race or of the other, if the Washington idea of race relations is insisted on to its logical finale. For socially, genealogically, ethnologically, the white and black race cannot and will not mix except as fire and gunpowder mix to create an explosion and cause a catastrophe. The South long ago realized this truth and even while prostrate under the heel of the invading conqueror the surviving heroes of the devastated states below the Mason and Dixon line so directed the social ethics and conditions of their people and shaped legislation as they could to maintain the separate integrity and purity of their races intact. We maintain that the Southern people were wise and correct in so dealing with this great and vital issue and that the northern idea of social equality, leading up to intermixture and intermarriage between the races will never prove a success in any section of the country. Just as soon as Washington and Chicago got a taste of what it meant where the two races were thrown together in anything like equal numbers they began to acquire the Southern idea and point of view. It does seem to us untimely and peculiarly inopportune for the north at this juncture to send down its missionaries and attempt to introduce this discredited race propaganda among our people. And we cannot forego the suggestion that the Austin incident may have a fortunate aspect in arousing the good people of both the races here to the realization that strange and alien ideas and propaganda are being instilled into our people and to put them on their guard against the menace that this portends for the more or less happy and satisfactory understanding and relations that have been established among our people of both races. Agitation, strife, stirring up of the primal passions and of the troubles that inevitably follow such agitation is the rule of the time. What is going to come of it all we can only wonder and trust in God that it may not engulf us all in ruin. It is no above all things, a time for fomenting and inciting trouble between the races and we earnestly and respectfully commend to our northern and western friends to set their own house in order and leave the good and wise leaders of the white and colored races of the South to attend to their own household.

This country has never produced a shrewder philosopher than Finley Peter Dunne, of Chicago, who long ago made the inimitable Mr. Dooley remark to Mr. Hennessy, "I'm not so much troubled about the naysay when he lives among his oppressors as I am when he falls into the hands of his liberators." Mr. Dunne's own city has given us the most complete and unmitigated exemplification of this. When during the war, Chicago was short of labor, the big industrial corporations there did not hesitate to induce the negroes to go there in great numbers with all kinds of promises of bettering their social and financial conditions. When the emergency passed and the negroes came into competition with the white labor and began to encroach on the white neighborhoods, the first race clash that occurred was used as an excuse or at least it furnished the spark to precipitate a race war in which practically all of the whites made war on all of the blacks, and vice-versa, shooting, slaying, burning and driving out indiscriminately except as guided by the race line. And when the grand jury got busy investigating riots it returned indictments galore against the negroes, and filled the county jail with black faces, but ne'er a pale face was incarcerated with them, bless your soul.

And such are the rights of Justice and Equality that the negro gets in the balliwick of his liberators and their redoubtable champion against their Southern "oppressors," the Chicago Tribune.

The point of view has changed with a vengeance. What northerners have heretofore called "oppression," Literary Digest says, the Southerners regard as measures essential to the welfare not only of the whites but also of the blacks; they believe that Northern freedom from restraint injures both races, and the Houston (Texas) Chronicle, commenting on race-riots in the north, observes: "The immediate cause, like the immediate result, is an old, old story, but both are rooted in a background of silly pampering which leads, and will always lead, to atrocious acts on the one hand and to illogical spasms of temper on the other." So it is natural that race-riots in Washington and Chicago should be widely discussed throughout the south. To the Southerner's way of thinking, they demonstrate the fallacy of the northern attitude toward the negro. The Chronicle maintains that "Washington, more than any other place, negroes have been petted into an attitude of lazy conceit," and that "the uniform has been permitted to

give them an unprecedented degree of protection and consideration," while "high wages and allotments have tended to make them shiftless and irresponsible." And when Southerners declare themselves "the negro's best friends," there is no disingenuousness about it. They believe what they say. They are skeptical when Northerners claim to be more generous regard for the negroes and the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal speaks for the South in general in asserting: "The clash of whites and negroes in Chicago, coming hard on the heels of a similar disturbance in Washington, should be a warning to the negroes of the South that the supposed benevolent treatment of their race in the Northern States is largely a myth."

A curious development of the Chicago race war would seem to point to the fact that she was blown up, so to speak, by a race bomb that she was constructing and timing to cast into the Southern household. The Vicksburg Herald calls our attention to this feature of the affair of which we had not previously had any intimation. In an editorial, headed, "Chickens Coming Home to Roost," the Herald says:

"To all with understanding the bloody Chicago race-clash was forecast by the following story in the Chicago News two days before the riot:

"Not only is Chicago a receiving station and port of refuge for colored people who are anxious to be free from the jurisdiction of lynch law, but there has been built here a publicity or propaganda-machine that directs its appeal or carries on an agitation that every week reaches hundreds of thousands of people of the colored race in the Southern States. The state street blocks south of Thirty-first are a 'newspaper row,' with The Defender, The Searchlight, The Guide, The Advocate, The Whip, as weekly publications, and there are also illustrated monthly magazines such as The Half-Century and The Favorite."

"The 'propaganda' of this 'receiving station and port of refuge,' the inevitable precursor of race-war, cuts both ways. Its poison indeed is more deadly upon the negro centers as Chicago and Washington than with the negro masses of the South."

Both races in the South are fortunate in being given the benefit of the Washington and Chicago lessons to open their eyes betimes to the inevitable renouement to which such propaganda leads and will lead up to and afforded the chance to avoid driving into such catastrophes.

NEW ORLEANS, LA. STATES

AUGUST 30, 1919

WHY TEXANS REBELLED

When the platform of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is examined it is made perfectly clear why the Texas authorities sought to discourage any further extension of its activities in Texas. It was their attitude which recently precipitated the Shillady affair.

The States is in receipt of a letter from the Association, of which Moorfield Storey, of Boston, is the president, and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, identified with the Crisis, the leading colored magazine of the country and one of the most violent, is one of the higher officials. We are promised that "every effort will be made to secure retribution for this outrageous assault" on the secretary of the association and then we are told that this is the platform on which the association stands:

A vote for every negro man and woman on the same terms as for white men and women. An equal chance to acquire the kind of an education that will enable the negro everywhere wisely to use his vote.

A fair trial in the courts for all crimes of which he is accused, by judges in whose election he has participated without discrimination because of race.

A right to sit upon the jury which passes judgment upon him.

Defense against lynching and burning at the hands of mobs.

Equal service on railroad and other public carriers. This to mean sleeping car service, dining car service, Pullman service, at the same cost and upon the same terms as other passengers.

Equal right to the use of public parks, libraries and other community services for which he is taxed.

An equal chance for a livelihood in public and private employment.

The abolition of color-hyphenation and the substitution of "straight Americanism."

This platform is a demand for absolute equality for the colored man and woman in the South—for their full rights at the ballot box, for their right to sit on juries, for the privilege to occupy sleeping cars and dining cars on the same terms as the whites, for the opening of all parks, libraries and other community services to them the same as to the whites and for the complete abolition of the color-hyphenation.

It is an attack upon the policy of segregation in the South which the best white and the best colored thought deem essential to the removal of the causes of friction which so recently in northern cities led to bloody riots between the whites and blacks.

An association advocating these policies and trying to stir up the colored people of the South to demand and fight for them is not serving the interests of the colored people. It is only inviting ill-feeling and disorder in which the negroes themselves would inevitably be the sufferers.

It is a pity these Northern mischief-makers can not read a lesson in the tragedies of Washington, East St. Louis and Chicago. If they mean to insist in carrying on this campaign to divide the races in the South, the leading representatives of the race in this section ought to unite in an effort to call them off in the interest of the masses of peaceably disposed colored people who want only to live in good relationship with their white neighbors.

AFTERMATH OF SHILLADY ASSAULT.

We are not surprised to learn through the Associated Press that the white people of Texas have got together with a few Negroes in Austin and passed resolutions opposing any interference on the part of the people of the North with the treatment that the white people of the South are forcing upon the Negro. The resolution was adopted by the executive committee of the St. John's Missionary Baptist Association and read, in part, as follows:

"We discourage and emphatically declare our opposition to people of the North, who do not understand conditions in the South, intermeddling without our relationship."

"If we are left to ourselves we will in time adjust all our differences for the good of all concerned."

"We tender our services to local and State authorities in allaying this nervousness and uneasiness now existing between the races."

The preamble to the resolution denounced inflammatory Negro publications and said in conclusion: "The magazines that urge upon the Negro to force him into political positions except where such is mutual upon the part of both races are laying the foundation for race riots and bloodshed in the South."

We shall not deny that there are some Negroes in Texas, especially the so-called Christ-like, who believe in the Golden Rule: smite on one cheek and they will turn the other; but we do deny that such a resolution represents the Negro sentiment in Texas or anywhere else.

There have always been traitors to every human cause, so it is no surprise to us to hear that there are a few Negroes in Texas who sell out for a "mess of pottage."

We are not inclined to be harsh with our brethren in the South for the cringing position they are in, but we rather pity them. Everybody knows that they need help; yea, they need all the outside help they can get. And, when truth gets a hearing and the voice of the masses is heard, it will be like the sound of the mighty thunder crying for help! help!! help!!!

To let the Negro alone, is the doctrine of the white man of the South. He has preached it for forty years, and the Negro who preaches such doctrines is helping to forge the chains of the southern tyranny tighter about our necks.

The resolution will not have the effect of hiding that cowardly attack made upon Mr. John R. Shillady at Austin, Texas, a few weeks ago. That attack shows just why the white people of the South want to keep the Negro in ignorance. They fear that the white people of the North are going to teach the Negro to be a man and show him his rights under the Constitution of the United States.

Of course, the Negro magazines and newspapers which tell the Negroes the truth and speak out for right and justice come in for condemnation in the South.

There is one way to settle the present race question, and that

is to let the Negro alone, is the doctrine of the white man of the South. He has preached it for forty years, and the Negro who preaches such doctrines is helping to forge the chains of the southern tyranny tighter about our necks.

capacity he presents his altruistic ideas when at home without let or hindrance. But Austin is not his home, and he does not seem to get the Austin viewpoint. Down there they are the "friend of the negro" so long as he "keeps his place" and his "place" is not an association for his own advancement, if that association is controlled by white men.

AN OUTRAGEOUS ASSAULT.

Idealists from the North have gone South before on missions similar to that of Mr. Shillady. Some of them come back alive, with a black eye, as Mr. Shillady is coming back; some of them are shipped back full of embalming fluid. None get an even break, for it is characteristic of Texas and other sections of the South where "negro lovers" are disciplined, that the disciplinarians hunt in packs. "Safety first" is their motto. It took three, including a judge and constable, to whip the New Yorker. If they had come at him one at a time he probably would be in Austin yet.

The beating of Mr. John R. Shillady of New York in front of the hotel in which he was stopping at Austin, Texas is one of the most remarkable exhibitions of brutality ever made in a southern city. It is all the more surprising in that this was done in the capital of the Lone Star State, where law and order or rather a semblance of it was to have been expected. Mr. Shillady evidently made the mistake in believing that in Texas a northern white man has any rights, when he takes up the cause of the southern Negro that a white man is bound to respect.

The fact that a Texas judge was one of the law-breakers makes the affair all the more serious. These kind of judges have been trying colored people in Texas and other southern States for more than fifty years. Evidently Mr. Shillady made the mistake of thinking that Hon. Woodrow Wilson is President of the United State in Texas, when as a matter of fact, Governor Hobby is not only the Chief Executive of Texas, but of the United States so far as Texas is concerned and he has expressed himself as being of the opinion that John R. Shillady got his deserts.

es and they charged him with inciting Negroes and with advocating social equality, whatever the latter charge may mean.

We think we have witnessed the end of the affair, so far as any punishment being meted to the assailants of Mr. Shillady is concerned. Any one of them could be elected to any office within the gift of the Texans. To beat up a Negro-loving Yankee is a popular pastime and Mr. Shillady came out less than second best in the encounter. On the other hand this outrageous attack will "fire the North" or that portion of it that has been cordially and enthusiastically supporting Secretary Shillady and his cause. The time will yet come, when free speech will be tolerated in all parts of this country.

This generation may be dead, but right principles will be yet triumphant and the declarations in the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights of Virginia will be observed in all parts of this land. We would advise the energetic Secretary to remain in the North until it shall be safe to indulge in free speech in the Southland. Certainly no state in the Union is more uncivilized than Texas and we are somewhat surprised that every educated person in the United States does not know it.

It may be well to remark that a native born Texan of high standing can indulge in the use of language stronger and plainer than a colored man from the North or a white one from that same section either. Many of our representative men have taken chances and defended themselves against all comers and when it came to the worst have fought to the last ditch and gone "shouting home to glory." We regret to learn of the outrageous conduct in this instance and we shall watch with much interest the result of the struggle and the

demand for the punishment of the offenders.

Is there any law to guarantee protection to the citizens of one State while sojourning within the confines or boundaries of another State? Let the constitutional lawyers answer this question and submit their answers to the counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Anderson (S.C.) Newspaper Wars On Negro President

Of Branch of N. A. A. C. P.

Southern newspapers seldom give space to a Negro but The Anderson Tribune, a sheet published in Anderson, South Carolina, for two months or more has devoted column after column in attacks upon Prof. M. H. Gassaway, principal of the Anderson Negro schools because Mr. Gassaway accepted the Presidency of the local Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The following is one of the insidious attacks of The Tribune which seeks to poison the minds of the white people of Anderson against a peaceable law-abiding Negro because he lends himself to a movement which has for its object the betterment of his race:

YONKERS N. Y. HERALD

AUGUST 29, 1919

SHILLADY ASKS FOR AN INQUIRY

John R. Shillady, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who recently suffered a beating at the hands of residents of Austin, Texas, said Wednesday at the organization's headquarters, 70 Fifth avenue, Manhattan, that seven Republican Senators would press for an inquiry into the incident. The resolution has formally demanded such an inquiry. Governor Smith, Mr. Shillady further announced, would be asked by the organization to demand protection for citizens of New York visiting Texas. A legal committee of

The Old, Old Story of the Uplifter and the "Brave" Southern Gentleman.

John R. Shillady of New York, a white man, was severely beaten at Austin, Texas, and later warned to leave the State, which he did. A county judge of the somewhat significant name of Pickle was one of his assailants. We find it easy to sympathize with Mr. Shillady in a broad humanitarian way, but exceedingly hard to condone his offense against common sense and diplomacy.

Mr. Shillady is secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and in that ca-

the association has been appointed to institute proceedings against Mr. Shillady's attackers, who, according to a statement by Governor Hobby, of Texas, were justified in their action.

"Unless Texas repudiates the statement of her Governor in expressing satisfaction with a brutal and unprovoked attack upon an unoffending United States citizen she will have confessed herself a lawless State," said a statement issued by Mr. Shillady.

Visit to Texas Explained.

"I went to the capital of Texas (Austin)," he continued, "after having telegraphed the Attorney General and a Justice of the Peace offering any information concerning the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which they desired. My first call after meeting with a committee of the local branch of our organization was at the office of the Governor. That being closed, I proceeded to the Attorney General's office and conferred with the Acting Attorney General, W. A. Keeling.

"The object of my journey to Austin was to ascertain why the books and papers and other property of the local branch of the association had been subpoenaed by a local justice of the peace and examined by State officials and to offer to these officials a much fuller record.

"The assault upon me by a group of men, including a county judge and a constable, occurred after I had been haled before a secret session of a so-called 'court of inquiry,' in which I was asked questions by the County Attorney such as:

"If you're a nigger lover why don't you go and stay in a nigger hotel?" and personal references as to how I'd like to have my wife in close personal association with niggers."

Judge Present at Hearing.

"The county judge, who took part in the assault in broad daylight, on one of the main streets of the capital of Texas, was present at that secret session of the court. Had there been the slightest question as to the legality of my acts it is certain I would have been arrested.

"After the hearing the presiding judge invited me to come to his office to confer with him. This invitation I declined, although at that time I did not think, as I do now, that it would have meant an assault, if not a killing, in the seclusion of an unkempt second-story office.

"While directly opposite the Hotel Driskill I was approached from behind by a group of men in an automobile. One of them, the constable who had summoned me to the secret session the day before, took hold of my arm while the rest gathered around. Anticipating another subpoena, I waited expectantly. Instead of a subpoena I was showered with blows from all sides. No assistance was offered me on the street or when I went into the hotel."

NEW YORK CALL

AUGUST 25, 1919

The Assault on Mr. Shillady

IN Texas, one of the strongholds of the Janus-faced "democracy" that has ridden roughshod over the best historical traditions of the nation, a Judge Pickle joined in mobbing John R. Shillady of New York, representative of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People. Shillady was beaten and placed on board a train for St. Louis. His offense was a personal investigation as to why local officials at Austin had ordered a branch of the association to dissolve.

Lynching and burning Negroes has become one of the "inalienable rights of man" in the Democratic South. Shillady has made himself obnoxious because of the publicity he has given to this sport in the newspapers. His visit to Texas offered a rare opportunity to Wilson's Southern party troops to teach Shillady that Negroes are as much the spoils of victors as contracts, appointments and jobs. We do not think that the victim of this assault has very often been in the South, because of the general knowledge there of his work in behalf of the Negroes, and this Texas visit must have given Texas Democrats great joy.

We suggest that a survey of the treatment of Negroes be made in this country and a digest of it be published abroad for the information of oppressed nationalities and races. The Jews, for example, might be asked whether they prefer the old Russian and modern Polish forms of pogroms to the more dramatic roasting of blacks which is so popular in the Democratic South. Nothing like exchanging ideas on these matters and being up to date. We do not think that the South can learn anything from the European pogromists, but the latter may be able to learn from the great Southern "democracy." Our fame in this respect is not sufficiently known to carry much weight abroad.

In the meantime, Mr. Shillady can nurse his bruises, and while he is recovering he can console himself with reading some of the addresses the Great Democrat delivered during the war regarding oppressed races in Europe. Nothing like that is calculated to increase our affection for "American democracy."

NEW YORK WORLD

AUGUST 25, 1919

Leading citizens of Austin, Tex., including a Judge and constable, who disapprove of the activities of a visitor to their city for the advancement of the negro, explain that assault and battery is a social privilege imposed upon them by the high positions of responsibility that they hold. Some communities might resent a Judge's assuming the unselfish duty of beating into helplessness a person whose views he disliked. But a Judge naturally can resume his place on the bench and continue to administer justice under the law.

ANTI-N. A. A. C. P.

The Nashville, Tenn. TENNESSEAN, a white ally, is sore on Dr. DuBois on account of his recent attack on Dr. R. R. Moton of Tuskegee. It says that Dr. Moton spoke at Fisk University recently and under normal circumstance his address would have been heard by many colored people in Nash-

ville, but the effect of the DuBois attack was to keep most of the local colored folk away from the meeting.

The TENNESSEAN advocates the formation of a group of white and colored persons to combat the N. A. A. C. P. "Education, separation of the races and separation of the feeble minded" would be the platform of the new anti-N. A. A. C. P. Wonder would Dr. Moton head it?

NASHVILLE TENN. TENNESSEAN

MISGUIDED WHITE MEN.

Well meaning, but misguided," was the epithet applied to white men who are members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by Bolton Smith, chairman of the committee on extension, Tennessee Law and Order League, in his address Friday before the Kiwanis Club.

Now comes an indication of the trouble that may be expected in the South between the two races unless the activities of these "well meaning, but misguided" meddlers, who are seeking to bring about "social equality," are curbed. A dispatch from Austin, Tex., tells of the beating administered to J. R. Shillady, a white man, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, by the county judge of Travis County, for "inciting negroes against the whites." Shillady was told that the negroes would cause no trouble if left alone. He was whipped and ordered to leave because the judge thought it was for the best interest of Austin and the state. There was no indication that Austin negroes resented the affair.

There can be little doubt that conditions in Chicago and Washington that lay at the bottom of the recent race rioting, in a large measure, were brought on by the teaching of "well meaning, but misguided" white men. Another element that tended to fan the flames was the influence of those editors of the Northern negro press who have been preaching "racial equality."

Mr. Bolton Smith, in his address here, called attention to a recent issue of "The Crisis," in which its editor, Dr. DuBois, made a violent attack on Dr. R. R. Moton, who succeeded Booker T. Washington as president of Tuskegee. Dr. DuBois charged, in effect, that Dr. Moton had warned negro soldiers in France against making extreme demands when they returned home, and had otherwise played into the hands of the white man. Shortly after this issue reached its readers, Dr. Moton spoke at Fisk University in explanation of his course abroad. Normally his appearance would have brought to the meeting a large number of the negroes of Nashville. But the effect of the DuBois attack, unsupported as it was by any proof, was to keep most of the negroes away from the meeting.

There is no inclination on the part of the majority of thinking Southern whites to retard the "advancement of colored people" along natural lines. On the other hand, there is a sincere desire to educate the negro for his own sake as well as our own—to encourage him in the development of his self-respect, which will instill a longing, not to be white, but to be "decent, God-fearing negroes, filling such places as their capacities fit them for and thankful for the protection, education and development which their residence in land of high-minded white men has obtained for them."

There is urgent need for an active association of lead-

ing white men and negroes of the South to combat the propaganda being put forth by "misguided whites and antagonistic blacks," which, unless counteracted, will serve only to incite negroes against whites and result in endless troubles.

The banding together of leaders of both races in the South in an intensive campaign, having as its aim education, separation of the races and segregation of the feeble-minded among the negroes, as suggested by Bolton Smith, would be a long step forward in the solution of this great problem.

SYRACUSE N.Y. POST STANDARD

AUGUST 28, 1919

The Beating of Shillady.

To the Editor of The Post-Standard:

In The Post-Standard for August 23 you printed an account of the beating of John R. Shillady in Austin, Tex., under the heading "Negroes' White Friend Gets Beating in Texas." That heading gives the impression that Mr. Shillady was beaten because he is a friend of the Negroes. I am led to believe that the opposite is the case. Mr. Shillady is the secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with headquarters in New York City. I have read some of the literature gotten out by this association in which the spirit of mob law as opposed to orderly redress is invoked. An association which represents itself as being for the advancement of colored people and then appeals to the spirit of lawlessness as a means of accomplishing its end is in reality for retardation rather than advancement.

I have attended Negro meetings at the South, sometimes I have had the privilege of speaking to them, and I befriended them in more substantial ways as the opportunity offered, and I was not beaten for it. On the contrary, I was respected for my efforts.

So after reading the account you printed, the account printed in The New York Times the next day, and considering the whole in the light of my own experience, I am led to the conclusion that Mr. Shillady went down there and began to throw bricks into the machinery instead of putting his shoulder to the wheel and pushing.

I am sorry that he was beaten, not so much on his account or on account of the association that he represents, but because an occurrence of that kind makes it all the harder for the Negroes and their white friends to co-operate for the advancement of both races and the preservation of good feeling between the races.

Syracuse. ALFRED AKERMAN.

N. A. A. C. P. - 1919.

THE MEASURE OF DUBLIN, GEORGIA.

We call the special attention of our readers to an article from the Dublin (Ga.) Courier-Herald, reproduced elsewhere in this issue. The article is an editorial which appeared in the above named paper.

The editor of the Dublin Courier-Herald makes no pretense at reason or argument; he simply wallows in vile abuse and vituperation. He is mad, mad in the original sense of the word; and he is not only mad, but he is wrong, and when a man is both mad and wrong, he is a pathetic figure. Here he shows himself foaming and frothing at the mouth like a rabid dog; and about what? So far as we can glean from the cesspool of his language he is raving because the N. A. A. C. P. made inquiries into the lynching of Ely Cooper, a colored man, and asked that the law be enforced against the lynchers.

The New York Age
In the last paragraph of its article the Courier-Herald expresses its highest-minded sentiments in the following words:

If the nigger lovers want to make an official investigation of the affair let them send Shillady or some other representative to this county, and, while we do not believe in lynching or condone the acts of the night riders, we will venture to say that the investigator will reach Hell before his scheduled time. The advancement association would do well to keep out of the South and leave the negro problem to people who know how to deal with it.

These words give the measure of the editor of the Dublin Courier-Herald. He himself, although he says "we do not believe in lynching or condone the acts of night riders," is a lyncher at heart. He may be too cowardly to join a mob, even though a mob is made up of cowards, but he does not hesitate to inspire others to mob and lynch.

But this article in the Courier-Herald is not only a measure of the editor of that paper; it is a measure of the community of which Dublin is the center. It is proof that the community of Dublin is made up in the majority of lynchers at heart. Of course, there are white people in and around Dublin who do not approve of lynching. But the lamentable thing is that there are not enough white people in Dublin to DISAPPROVE of lynching to make the slightest impression on the sentiment of the community. If there were, it would not be possible for the editor of the leading newspaper of the town to publish an article filled with such unreasoning hate and containing a threat of murder against seeking to uphold the law in behalf of the Negro.

We are literally sick and tired of hearing about this "better element" in the South, this element which does not approve of lynching and injustice towards the Negro. If this element amounts to anything at all, let it speak out and DISAPPROVE of lynching and injustice.

If one-third of the white people of Dublin belonged to this "better element" and only did not approve of lynching and injustice against the Negro, but openly DISAPPROVED of them, the leading newspaper of their town could not publish such an article as the one which appeared in the Courier-Herald.

But what has the editor of this Dublin paper really accomplished? If he thinks he has damaged the organization which he attacks in so vile a manner, he is mistaken. For if anything is

needed to thoroughly convince the colored people of the United States, and especially of the South, that this organization is doing a good work for them and is one which they should join, it is just such articles as the one written by the editor of the Dublin Courier-Herald.

"THE ONLY OFFENDER"

WHAT is said to be the first attack upon a prominent white man for his championship of the rights of the Negro race since Charles Sumner was set upon by Brooks in Congress, occurred last Friday in Austin, Tex., when John R. Shillady, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was knocked down in the street in broad daylight and severely beaten by a group of white residents of that city. Among Shillady's assailants were the county judge of Travis county, David U. Pickle, and Charles Hamby, a constable. Judge Pickle was quoted later by the Associated Press as declaring that the reason for the assault was that Shillady had been "inciting Negroes against the whites," and as saying that none of those who took part in the affair would shirk responsibility.

At St. Louis, en route to New York city, Mr. Shillady later gave out a statement in which he said:

The Survey 8-30-19
The newspaper accounts I have read say that the assault was made by three men, but this is incorrect, as there were at least six, and more likely eight. In addition to Judge Pickle and the constable, Hamby, there was an automobile with about the toughest-looking set of men I had seen in a long while, and my travels have taken me into all sorts of places since I began work of this character.

The national association, from its headquarters, in New York city, wired Governor W. P. Hobby of Texas, asking what efforts were being made to punish the offenders. Governor Hobby telegraphed:

The
Shillady was the only offender in connection with the matter referred to in your telegram and he was punished before your inquiry came. Your organization can contribute more to the advancement of both races by keeping your representatives and their propaganda out of this state than in any other way.

Mr. Shillady was set upon a few moments after leaving a court session that itself seems to have something of an anomaly in judicial procedure. Summoned before a justice of the peace by Hamby after he had been in Austin a day and a half, Shillady was called upon to answer charges that his association was trying to violate the laws of Texas, that it favored social equality between the races and that it was abetting the alleged purchase in large numbers of high powered rifles by the Negroes of Texas. Mr. Shillady was told in court that criminal action against him might ensue from this hearing. He was followed and watched throughout his stay in Austin.

The purpose of his trip to that city was to aid the local branch of the association against an effort to dissolve it on the ground that it was not chartered in Texas. Mr. Shillady explained to the governor, the attorney general and others that the association was not a business but a membership, that its purposes were civic and educational, that it was incorporated under the laws of New York and that no Texas charter was necessary. He denied that the fact the association paid salaries to its executives made it an organization formed for profit. The chief purposes of the national association, according to its own statement, are:

1. A vote for every Negro man and woman on the same terms as for white men and women.
2. An equal chance to acquire the kind of education that will enable the Negro everywhere wisely to use this vote.
3. A fair trial in the courts for all crimes of which he is accused by judges in whose election he has participated without discrimination because of race.

N Y C GLOBE

AUGUST 25, 1919

SOUTH OF DEMOCRACY.

The experience of John R. Shillady of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reminds one of the indignities that abolition orators once had to undergo. Mr. Shillady was attacked and beaten by several citizens of Austin, Texas, including a county judge, appropriately named Pickle, on the ground that "his actions were inciting the Negroes against the whites" and that "our Negroes would cause no trouble if left alone," and was then ordered to leave Texas. The rumors about Shillady's activities were that he was stirring up the Negroes to demand "social equality with the whites." Actually his association has incurred the displeasure of certain classes of southerners not by any such impossible policy as this but by exposing the truth about lynchings. The association has repeatedly brought to light facts about mob murders which had never been published in the newspapers and which otherwise would never have been heard of outside the communities in which they took place.

Naturally Mr. Shillady did not treat the Negroes as many of the southerners like to see them treated. From the point of view of those who take part in, or tolerate, lynchings any humanitarian interest in the Negro is bad. The ugly truth is that a large number of southerners are determined not only to refuse to mingle socially with the Negroes—no sane person demands that—but to compel them, irrespective of individual ability or merit, to remain a subject race. They are determined that the black man shall not have any share in the government under which he lives, and they insist that he ought to be, and shall be, a hewer of wood and drawer of water for the white race. In this their point of view is not essentially different from that of all superior races in the presence of those considered inferiors. They look upon the Negro as the Russian landlord looks upon the peasants, as the Japanese looks upon the Koreans, as the Kurds look upon the Armenians. No one who does not have to live in the presence of their problem can unreservedly condemn them; yet it is apparent that they have solved it no better than it was solved in the days of the pyramids. There is not a trace of modern humanitarianism or modern democracy in the relations of the southern white with the southern black. Mr. Shillady and his association are fighting against a tradition as old as those dim prehistoric days of India when the first invaders swept down out of the hills, conquered the people of the plains, and set up the system of caste.

CRACKER REASONING AND CRACKER LAW

"CESSATION OF LYNCHING" 8-29-19
"EQUAL SCHOOL FACILITIES"
"EQUALITY AT THE POLLS" 8-29-19
"EQUAL ACCOMMODATIONS ON RAILROADS" *The Afro-American*

For advocating this program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People before the courts of Austin, Texas, John R. Shillady, white, National Secretary of the Association, was waylaid on his way from the meeting to his hotel

and severely beaten. The men who assaulted him were Dave J. Pickle, county judge, Charles Hamby, constable, and Ben Pierce all of them white, together with several thugs.

"Judge" Pickle issued a statement after the fight to the effect that Mr. Shillady was guilty of advocating "social equality" for the colored people of Austin, and that he "whipped him and ordered him to leave the city, for the best interest of the state."

Governor Hobby of Texas who was appealed to in the interest of law and order by the Association sent the reply: "Shillady was the only offender, and he was punished before your telegram came."

This is the case, and on its face, it seems that the county judge, sworn to uphold the law, thinks he has the right as a private citizen to beat up another citizen on the public street, ORDER him to leave the city, and this in the interest of the state. Like-wise Governor Hobby believes that "Judge" Pickle was entirely within the law in administering an assault, and the law is entirely satisfied in making no effort to punish the judge,—BECAUSE CRIME WAS COMMITTED BY SHILLADY IN COMING TO TEXAS, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE N. A. A. C. P. SHOULD STAY OUT OF THE STATE.

This is Cracker Reasoning and more than this it is Cracker Law.

It is best expressed in the words of Representative Byrnes of South Carolina in the House this week, who speaking on mob law said:

"THE WHITE MAN DOES NOT REASON, HE ACTS."

"FOR ANY NEGRO, WHO HAS BECOME INOCULATED WITH THE DESIRE FOR POLITICAL EQUALITY, THERE IS NO EMPLOYMENT FOR HIM IN THE SOUTH, NOR IS THERE ANY ROOM FOR HIM IN THE SOUTH."

"THIS IS A WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY AND WILL ALWAYS REMAIN A WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY."

When a so called Representative rises to utter such bunk in the Congress of the United States, it is enough to make the blood of every righteous man boil with indignation. America cannot be safe for the Negro, nor can it long be safe for the whites, until it relegates to oblivion—the resting place of Vardaman and Tillman—violators of law and order like Pickle, Byrnes and their ilk.

It is to be hoped that the National Association and Secretary Shillady will not allow any intimidation to interfere with their organization of strong branches of the Association in every Southern town. The fight is on. The goal is citizenship rights for every Negro in the United States. A cracker Senator beat Charles Sumner on the floor of the Senate, because the latter urged political equality of the Negro, but that did not stop the addition of the 14th and the 15th Amendments to the constitution.

And no more can Pickles and Byrnes, by violence and threats of violence, stop today the irresistible flood of public opinion that is solid for the rights of the Negro under the constitution.

WITH VALICE AFORETHOT

Some of the questions that Mr. John R. Shillady, white, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was asked when he met the "court of inquiry," consisting of the county judge, constable and others in Austin, Texas, were:

"If you're such a nigger lover, why don't you go and stay in a nigger hotel?"

"How would you like to have your wife in close personal association with niggers?"

After insulting Mr. Shillady with these questions the "judge" invited him to confer with him that night at his office, and Mr. Shillady guessing the assault or murder that lay behind his invitation very promptly refused it. Then came the assault in the broad day light. To quote his own words: "While directly opposite the Hotel Driskill I was approached from behind by a group of men in an automobile. One of them, the constable who had summoned me to the secret session the day before, took hold of my arm while the rest gathered round. Anticipating another subpoena, I waited expectantly. Instead of a subpoena, I was showered with blows from all sides. No assistance was offered me on the street or when I went into the hotel."

All of this shows that the assault upon Mr. Shillady was carefully planned to take place in the dark, but that these plans were made without consulting the victim.

It was evidently the intent to insult Mr. Shillady to the point where he would lose his head and hit somebody. The Texans outnumbered him ten to one, and the killing would have been easy.

Failing in this they invited him to come downtown after dark, to the "judge's" "unkept" office on the second floor. Under cover of night they would have "finished him" and nobody would have ever been the wiser. Again Mr. Shillady evaded their trap.

Finally there was nothing else to do but to attack him in the broad day light, and this is the kind of thing they hope to get away with. The judge and constable admit their part in the assault and the Governor of the state refuses to punish them. The whole event shows the lawless character of Texas as a state, and unless the Federal government calls Governor Hobby to account, it will have very little reason to demand that American lives and property just across the border in Mexico receive the protection they are not given in the United States.

NEW ORLEANS LA STATES
AUGUST 26, 1919

THE SHILLADY CASE

The whipping of John R. Shillady, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, by three well known Texans at Austin and his expulsion from the city, was a bold and unlawful act and its occurrence is to be regretted.

But Shillady and his association invited the assault, and under similar provocation the same incident would have occurred in any other Southern city and, conceivably, in some Northern city as well.

The National Association for the Advancement

of Colored People is not promoting the welfare of the race in the South, and it is doubtful if it is helping the relations between the whites and blacks in the North. The sooner it ceases its activities in this section and confines them to other sections of the country the better it will be for cause in which it is enlisted, for in the South it is only breeding trouble, intensifying racial feeling and provoking clashes.

The best people of the South are striving to better the conditions of the negro. They are advocating higher wages for him, better housing facilities, wider opportunities to improve his industrial situation. They are exerting their influences to assure him more protection under the law and less injustice in his relations with his neighbor. They are committed to laws, supported by public sentiment, which will tend to make lynching rarer.

If they are permitted to press the problem to its solution they will succeed. But nothing could do more to compromise their efforts than the attempt of a Northern society to butt into the situation with appeals to the emotions of the race, and that is precisely what Shillady and his class are undertaking to do.

These mischief-makers doubtless expect to create a situation which will arouse Federal action. But Federal intervention would only aggravate conditions and the negro of the South, who wants to be let alone and live in peace with the white people would be the sufferer.

The Texas incident will be exaggerated and capitalized by those who are in sympathy with Shillady and his association. But the best thought of the North ought to discourage the aims of Shillady and his class, for they are retarding instead of helping the movement in the South to make the negro more contented and happy and to afford him new opportunities to better his condition.

MOBOCRACY IN TEXAS

The Journal and State

If the constituted legal authorities of Texas dismiss without disciplinary proceedings the action of the Austin judge and constable who formed and led a mob that severely beat and otherwise injured and humiliated John R. Shillady, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, when he visited that city on August 21st, courts of justice may as well be abolished, and the rule of the mob substituted for the orderly processes of law and the government which makes and sustains the law.

Mr. Shillady went to Austin on business for the National Association, chiefly to ascertain why the city authorities had disbanded a branch of the organization. His inquiries resulted in his having been set upon and beaten; not by hoodlums, as might have been expected, but by the judge of the county court, a constable and another leading citizen, who publicly boasted of their action.

When the judiciary descends to the level of the mob, aided and abetted by officers of the law and supposedly law-abiding citizens it is time that the nation should view with alarm the safety of its basic institutions.

It is useless to think of suppressing mob violence if duly constituted officers of the law can disregard their oaths of office and their sworn duty to uphold the majesty of the law and indulge in mob lawlessness with impunity. It is equally useless to expect the lynchocrat to respect the authority or fear the power of such legal machinery as the city of Austin maintains.

The Austin judge may have attained an immediate objective by refusing to permit a branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to operate in that city, and by his brutal attack upon Secretary Shillady; but his actions have done more to advance the cause of the Association in and outside of his state than tons of literature and months of hard organization work could have done.

There are local branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in most of the principal cities of the South, and the one that was organized in Austin is the first to have been denied the right to carry on its work for any reason whatsoever. If the members of the branch or if Mr. Shillady were guilty of "inciting Negroes against whites," there was surely sufficient law to fit their cases; and the administration of that law was in the hands of the judge and constable that chose rather to depart from the orderly processes of law and decency, and to handle the matter according to the unlawful and disgraceful practices of the mob. All of which goes to prove that in some parts of our country our boasted democratic form of government is really mobocratic in heart and spirit where the interests of the weak and oppressed are concerned. And this great nation—physically great—which is impotent to keep its own house in order or to protect its own citizens in the orderly course of lawful business, continues to insult the intelligence of smaller nations and weaker peoples by proclaiming itself able to do for other nationals and subject peoples that which it fails to do for its own.

FORCE WILL NOT "TURN THE TRICK!"

The mobbing of John R. Shillady of New York City (white) secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in Austin last week, by the high Travis County officials and his expulsion from the state capital—whither he had gone to confer with the attorney general regarding a charter for the organization in Texas and to meet and advise with the Austin branch—are firm reminders that preaching democracy is one thing, but practicing it is another.

Last Saturday a number of South Texas sheriffs met in this city and discussed means and methods to allay or abate "racial unrest," and decided to perfect "organizations" throughout Texas to prevent any domestic disorders or racial clashes.

From several small interior Texas towns come reports of force being employed upon colored Americans: they are denied an opportunity to peaceably assemble in religious, fraternal or civic meetings; a ban is placed upon reading race publications and all kinds of efforts are made to intimidate and browbeat the race thereby hoping to "keep the nigger in his place." As a consequence several prosperous citizens have been forced to leave their homes and seek protection elsewhere.

Where two or more parties do not understand each other, there is grave danger that each party will suspect the other. This is also true of races and nations. If men really understood each other more there would be less strife and trouble, and all preparations to resist armed attacks of enemies would have no place in our civilization.

The sane, sensible and sober colored American is not going around with his "racial chip" on his shoulder; but on the other hand the colored American who declares that he is satisfied with the treatment accorded his race in this country, particularly the South, is a — liar and the truth is not in him.

But force will not bring about the desired results on either side. An earnest and sincere effort must be made to ascertain the cause of this racial unrest and seek to apply the remedy. To charge it to I. W. W. and bolsheviki propagandists is tommyrot and buncombe, and is an economical employment of veracity.

Why is the black man dissatisfied and in a state of unrest? IT IS BECAUSE HE WAS PROMISED CERTAIN THINGS WHEN HE WENT FORTH TO FIGHT AND SACRIFICE FOR HIS COUNTRY IN THE LATE MARTIAL CONFLICT AND NOT A SINGLE PROMISE HAS BEEN FULFILLED.

President Wilson conjured up beautiful and pleasing rhetorical expressions about "making the WORLD safe for DEMOCRACY," "what we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the GOVERNED, and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind," etc., and his many high-sounding expressions were taken literally, not only by colored Americans, but by other racial groups. In other words, the American people were over-promised and as simple children with implicit confidence in the "fathers," their failure to receive the things promised has created a spirit of disrespect, dissatisfaction, discontent and restlessness.

When the black soldier marched forth in defense of this much-heralded democracy, he was the recipient of all kinds of promises from both state, county and municipal officials. He was promised full citizenship and all the rights and privileges that accompany full and free citizenship. He was told that he would not return to his pre-war status and that America would not be guilty of forgetting or mistreating those heroes who would make victory possible.

Even while abroad his kinsmen were lynched and mobbed and in this country several men wearing the uniform of their country have fallen victims to Judge Lynch's court.

When black men left their homes for training camps to offer themselves in France a ransom for the stay-at-homes, they were cheered and acclaimed as heroes; but when these same men returned home, flushed with victory and having enjoyed that air of freedom so prevalent in France, presto change! a concerted effort was immediately launched to "keep the nigger in his place."

What and where is the black man's place? DURING THE WAR HIS PLACE IN FRANCE WAS IN THE FRONT-LINE TRENCHES AND AT HOME IT WAS SUPPORTING ALL MARITIAL ACTIVITIES, SUCH AS LIBERTY LOAN BONDS, WAR SAVINGS AND THRIFT STAMPS. Many colored Americans BORROWED MONEY to help the country finance the war. Their place at that time was in the FRONT-LINE TRENCHES AT HOME. They were regarded and often addressed as "citizens," while all kinds of promises were made to them of the fruits of victory and the race's post-war status.

The brave, gallant, heroic and intrepid black warriors have returned home and now ask, "WHERE IS THAT DEMOCRACY FOR WHICH WE FOUGHT IN FRANCE?" Immediately the cry of "social equality" is raised and charges made of impending riots, insurrection, etc.

This "social equality" stuff is all bugaboo, for no law can be enacted nor enforced regulating and defining a man's associates. In fact, this question is always raised from the other side of the issue, which is evidenced in the various shades and colors found in the colored race. (Let us pray!)

There is only one way to settle this matter and that is the right way, for "nothing is ever settled until it is settled right." Force will not do it, either upon the black race or the friends of the race; for while force can put an end to the physical body, it can not stop the spirit, nor destroy the soul, nor kill the principle.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DEVELOP SLAVES WHERE FREE MEN EXIST, JUST LIKE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO KEEP MEN COWARDS WHERE OTHER MEN ARE BRAVE.

The great trouble about this "race question" is that it is shelved too much and when the race gives any evidence of racial self-consciousness the alarm is sounded that the "niggers are planning to stage an uprising."

If the two races would discard a little prejudice and hold conferences and discuss and endeavor to adjust these differences and apply remedies wherever needed, all this apprehension would be eliminated and the necessity for intimidating and browbeating organizations obviated.

New conditions call for new measures. The methods and practices resorted to upon the defenseless and ignorant freedmen following the civil war will fail signally upon the freemen of the present day. To attempt to employ them is but to invite trouble and domestic disorders.

The man who treats everybody right has no fear of trouble under ordinary circumstances. This is likewise true of races and nations.

The black race fought and gave that the race might participate in that democracy of which we have heard so much talk in the last two or three years and this yearning and desire can not be crushed by force or untoward means.

One of our most difficult tasks, however, is to rid the race of those traitors and enemies within the ranks, who lie in season and out to "de white folks," ever trying to get certain members of the race "in bad."

Take the Austin incident and according to Editor Haynes of the Herald, some lying descendants of Ham told some unsuspecting offsprings of Shem that the N. A. A. C. P. is a seditious organization and that the colored members thereof were planning to attack the white citizens of that community. It was further claimed that Secretary Shillady's visit was to further fan the fire of racial hate and incite a race riot.

Being ignorant of the association's activities and the calibre of man Secretary Shillady really was and is, and believing the lying Ethiopian that brought them such rumors, perhaps it was but natural that the residents of Austin would look with sheepish eyes upon both the Austin branch and Secretary Shillady.

But when the authorities of Travis County resorted to force instead of making an investigation, and when the governor made such a burlesque reply to the telegram from New York, it simply added another disgrace to Texas' long list, hit a solar plexus blow to our boasted democracy and reflected very discreditably upon our supposed enlightened Christian civilization.

There is an adage, old but true, which says: "ANY OLD DOG THAT WILL BRING A BONE WILL CARRY A BONE!" It will be a wise idea for the "good white folks" to watch these pimping "niggers" (employed advisedly) who bring them such messages, for any man or set of men untrue to their own race will eventually prove untrue to another race; yea! they'll even prove untrue to their country and their God, if God will own such conspiring curs and pusillanimous pups.

The "social equality" bugbear, if they had investigated, would have been found wanting, for the only employment of the word "equality" in their literature is for "EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW" for colored Americans. This organization does not encourage nor teach unrest, neither is it responsible for the present condition of affairs. Those in authority are to blame, for they preach one thing and practice another. The N. A. A. C. P. holds no secret meetings and its membership is not confined to the colored race.

The Informer suggests that the two races hold conferences and smooth out all differences that exist now or might exist hereafter. It is the only sensible and safe way to endeavor to adjust the situa-

tion and the only way to secure lasting and permanent results. To those of our race who are discouraged, disgusted, disgruntled, dissatisfied and dejected, The Informer counsels that you will not lose faith in the final triumph of right over wrong; that character and not color is the thing most to be desired and that in the Divine plan of things "princes shall come out of Egypt and Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God." Selah!

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH NEGRO "LEADERS" OF THE CAMPBELL STRIKE?

In the issue of August 30, under the heading, "A Serious Peril," we mentioned the report that the trouble which the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P. at Austin, Texas, had and the subsequent assault made upon the secretary of the national office of that organization were brought about by the minister of a prominent colored church in Austin going to a Texas Ranger and telling him that the N. A. A. C. P. was banding the colored people together in Texas for the purpose of inciting them to riot and for the purpose of gaining "social equality."

Since then we have received clippings from various Texas newspapers which shed further light on the first report. We wish to bring to the attention of our readers one of these clippings in particular. We reproduce it in full, headings and all, because we want our readers of The Age to get the entire effect and significance of this article as it appeared in one of the leading daily papers of Texas:

SHILLADY BEATING GETS PRAISE OF AUSTIN NEGROES

Say Colored Folks Want to Stay in Their Places Down in Texas.

KNOCK "POLITICIANS" COMING FROM NORTH

Say "Wrongs to Negro Race" Are Idle and Imaginery.

Austin white persons are invited by the executive board of St. John's Encampment Association to attend a meeting for open discussion of the race question, to be held at Ebenezer Tabernacle, 910 East Tenth street, 8 o'clock Sunday night, August 31.

The executive board at present is in the midst of one of its quarterly sessions held at the tabernacle.

The employment of teachers and workers, the arrangement of the budget, and other plans for the operation of the orphanage for another year are being considered.

Discusses Race Question.

President Campbell, in opening the meeting, took occasion to express himself in no uncertain terms on the question of race adjustment.

"There is no just grounds for complaint," said he.

"The races in the South are getting along smoothly, and where the Negro accepts the advice of his white neighbors, prosperity is in evidence.

"There is no disposition to crush out anybody down here; our white friends who know us are not afraid of us and they know there is no danger of our annihilating them.

"An ounce of prevention is better than a hundred pounds of cure.

Approves Judge Pickle's Action.

"The officers of the law who took necessary precaution to prevent a clash were indeed wise, for at this present moment an altercation between black men and white men, while not intended, might possibly have been the means of the death of many innocent good citizens of both races.

"Our people should be advised to obey the law, stay in their places, keep busy, and refuse to be hoodwinked by idle and purposeless classes who go about with grievances of imaginary wrongs done the race and our preachers should give conservative council and sane advice from the pulpit."

Dr. Campbell said he realized the social unrest was a natural result of the war and that he hoped conditions would soon return to normal.

"I think our officers of the law," said he, "deserve special congratulations for the patience they have exercised because of the present conditions."

This meeting was called by the Rev. L. L. Campbell, pastor of a large colored church in Austin. According to reports, there were about a hundred white people present. Resolutions were adopted which constitute as complete an abdication of the citizenship and manhood rights of the Negro as anything that could have been drafted by Vardaman or Bleasie. A former mayor of Austin addressed

the meeting and told the colored people that it was their duty to stay in their place.

The question of this man Campbell's opinion of the N. A. A. C. P. or any other organization is not here the important thing. The important thing is the attitude and the position which he takes on the whole question of the Negro's rights as a man and a citizen. The encouragement and excuse which he gives to those who wish to deprive us of these rights.

It is difficult to conceive that there lives anywhere a human being worthy of being called a man who does not desire for himself and his children all the fundamental rights that are possessed by others; who does not desire for himself and his children the same opportunities that are accorded to others. If there is such a human being he needs to be explained. How can a Negro in the United States of the Campbell stripe be explained? Is the attitude which he takes due to ignorance or to timidity, or is it taken from material gain?

It may, sometimes, be due to ignorance; it may often be due to timidity; but we are confident that it is most frequently taken for material gain of one kind or another. In any community, North or South, any Negro who is dastard enough to do it can batten on the losses to his own race by taking such a position.

We note in the article quoted above that one of the matters to be considered at the meeting was "the employment of teachers and workers, the arrangement of the budget, and other plans for the operation of the orphanage for another year." If the sustenance of a colored orphanage at Austin depended on the stand taken by Campbell in order to have white people contribute to its support, it were better that there be no colored orphanage at Austin. In fact, the race would lose less if all the colored orphans there who could otherwise be supported died of starvation instead of growing sleek and fat at the price which Campbell is willing to pay.

We say again that the thing to do with men of the Campbell stripe is to ostracize them completely and absolutely; to cut them off, and throw them out; to make them feel that they are men without a race; for they are more dangerous than the enemy on the outside.

And yet, there is a law of compensation which is at work to reduce the power of these apostates to do the race injury, and it is this: Whenever a Negro to-day, by word or act, depreciates full manhood and citizenship rights for his race in this country, he sacrifices whatever influence that he may possess with his own people. So, after all, white people in depending on such a man to hold down the natural and legitimate aspirations of the colored people are depending on a broken reed; and no matter how little they may give him, they are paying him in excess of what he is able to deliver.

Let us see that this law of compensation works out to its full limit.

THE SHILLADY ASSAULT.

The assault on Mr. John R. Shillady, Secretary of N. A. A. C. P. by an officer of the law in Austin, Texas, last week, is an affair which every law abiding citizen should deplore.

According to press dispatches carried elsewhere in this paper, the chief offense of Mr. Shillady was that he went to Austin on a mission in behalf of Negroes and while there he consulted with Negroes.

While we believe that white and black people of the South have sense enough eventually to work out their destiny, we do not believe that the cause of either race is helped by resenting in pugilistic fashion what is termed outside interference; for no "outside interference" is likely ever to cause the Negro to take the initiative in resorting to mob violence against white folks. The Southern white man, we believe, thoroughly understands this fact.

N.A.A.C.P. - 1919

PARSON CAMPBELL, OUR SELF-APPOINTED LEADER.

Man, in his endeavors to adjust his behavior to meet the demands of new environments that are being continually thrust upon him, often finds himself at a loss to determine the most expedient course to pursue. Especially is this true of the Negro race which has exchanged the duties of a slave for the responsibilities and obligations of a full-fledged citizen of this great Republic.

It is a far cry from abject slavery to intelligent citizenship in such a social organization. Indeed to make such a transition as it were overnight without a long period of preparation is a Herculean task that no people in any age has before has been called upon to perform. Indeed, the making of full-fledged citizens out of these untutored children of nature under the conditions that obtained at that time was one of the greatest crimes that has ever been perpetrated against organized society. The crime committed against the Negro race was little less than that against society. The Negro has been led by this act to look to legislation for any desired change in his relations to his fellow man. He did not learn that his advancement in the social organization depended upon his personal worth and individual adjustment to the customs and usages of society. This gave him a false conception of the duties and obligations, and the rights and privileges that accompany them. Thus handicapped he began his career as a citizen of this great Republic.

That he has been required to meet the higher duties and obligations of citizenship and that he has done this without a murmur history will attest. That he has been steadily and persistently despoiled of his rights and privileges that are the sacred rights of the law-abiding citizen is a fact so patent that no attempt is made at its concealment.

In the face of all this, certain self-appointed race leaders have the audacity to come before the American people with the brazen assertion that "there is no just ground for complaint" on the part of the Negro citizen. Among this class of leaders we feel it our duty to call attention to the article furnished the press by L. L. Campbell of Austin. He asserts "There is no just ground for complaint. The races in the South are getting along smoothly and where the Negro accepts the advice of his white neighbor, prosperity is in evidence."

When we consider that the Negro, for the most part belongs to the laboring class, and that part of the laboring class that has not the pro-

tection of organized labor, we can realize how false such a statement must be. The condition of the laboring man in this country, even under the protection of great organizations, forms the chief subject of congressional legislation today. That labor conditions must be speedily readjusted is conceded by intelligent men of all classes. By what means Mr. Campbell arrived at the conclusion that the Negro laborer had no problem that needed re-adjustment is not clear to us. The wages and living conditions of the Negro laborer are far worse than that of organized labor and we contend must be adjusted if the Negro is to continue his progress to a higher plan of living. Burdened down with his labor troubles and these surmounted with prejudice and discrimination the Negro leader comes up smiling with "I have no grounds for just complaint boss." This kind of optimism is certainly unparalleled in the annals of history.

If the goal of man's existence was to get along smoothly and show evidence of prosperity, then indeed, would life become one round of pleasure. Man could surrender every point of vantage when called upon to do so by another. He could abandon any occupation when requested to do so by his neighbor. He could surrender the rights and privileges guaranteed to him by the laws of the land. All these things he could do with impunity if the goal of man's existence was to get along smoothly. Had America submitted to taxation without representation the revolutionary war would not have occurred and there would have been no United States of America. Had the world submitted to German arrogance and admitted German superiority there would have been no world's war. Hence to get along smoothly, we conclude is not the goal of man's existence. Neither can it be one of the Negroes' ideals when it means the sacrifice of all that makes life worth the living. Mr. Campbell's advice is sound but he fails to suggest that the Negro be allowed to help frame the laws that he is to obey. This is one of the fundamental principals underlying a democratic form of government. He further admonishes the Negro to stay in his place. This counsel no doubt is good but he fails to enlighten the Negro just what his place might be. Likely he is to obtain this information from his white neighbor.

He further advises him that he should keep busy and refuse to be hood-winked by purposeless classes. Again some wholesome advice is given free gratis. How is the Negro to be able to distinguish those purposeless classes, by the usual means we suppose, his white neighbors.

Mr. Campbell's reference to the scarecrows of social equality and Ne-

gro domination we are forced to admit is not clear to us. To our best judgment these were phrases coined by these same white neighbors to whom the Negro is to look for advice and counsel. If Mr. Campbell has been sincere in his former advice he has no right to question medicine prepared by the pharmacist of his own selecting.

The profound assertion by Mr. Campbell that he finds no fault of God for the color of his skin nor the texture of his hair is indeed refreshing. It would no doubt be a great calamity if he was not by nature so amicably disposed. When however, his further discussion shows that these outward indications form the bases for segregation and discrimination he shows how superficial is his knowledge of racial characteristics. That probably lie at the roots of race prejudice. We believe that Mr. Campbell wrongly interprets the return of the emigrant Negro from the north. In all ages and among all peoples there has been found a longing by some to return to the "flesh pots of Egypt." In the course of time these same persons who have learned such valuable lessons will again find themselves emigrating. Mr. Campbell observes that the Negro who remains at his post is making progress. In this he is right. We might however, suggest that the way to keep him at his post is to encourage him and increase his opportunities of raising himself to a higher plane of living and enabling him to gain the respect and co-operation of his white neighbors. Let us further predict that unless the causes that led the children of Israel from the fertile valley of the Nile into the barren wilderness and the Pilgrim fathers from old England to the wilds of America have been removed the Negro will in time desert the South with all its sunshine and associations that will be ever dear to him and seek to improve his conditions in other lands.

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Mayor And Sheriff Of San Antonio Not In Accord With Mob That Assaulted Mr. Shillady

New York, Sept. 2.—The Mayor and Sheriff of San Antonio, Texas, do not take the same view of the activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as the mobbists who assaulted the national Secretary, Mr. Shillady, in Austin.

The following report to the San Antonio branch of the N. A. A. C. P. by a committee which was appointed

there shows a promising approach to the race problem in that city:

To the San Antonio Branch National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: Your committee appointed to confer with the Mayor, the Sheriff's Department and the publishers of the Express of this city, beg leave to report that an epitome of views of the Association publicly expressed in our last regular meeting to the effect that the great body of colored people here stand ready to join the authorities and moulders of public opinion through their editorial and news columns, in suppressing every phase of lawlessness and removing whatever of misunderstanding there might be lodging still in the public mind, was presented to these officials.

The Mayor and Sheriff showed the keenest delight and satisfaction in the purpose and spirit of our mission and promised the fullest cooperation with our Association in all matters affecting race relations here. But each stressed the opinion that our understanding and friendly relations were too close and strong for any sort of trouble to grow up among San Antonio people.

Mr. Huntree, president of the Daily Express Publishing Co., assured us that the Express would ever advocate close and friendly relations between the races as it had always done, and that its news columns would remain closed to exciting and highly colored accounts of race conflicts—such accounts as would be translated into acts of violence by the reckless classes. They commended the high stand taken by the Association for the public good.

(Signed) S. J. JOHNSON,
Pastor St. James A. M. E. Church
H. M. TARVER,
Principal Dunbar School
H. S. SIMS,
Pastor Bethel A. M. E. Church.

GALVESTON TEXAS NEWS
SEPTEMBER 7, 1919
THE SOUTHERN RACE PROBLEM.

Those negroes who met at Austin last week and repudiated the solicitude and unsolicited concern which Northern individuals and organizations have been showing for their welfare were wisely prompted. Whatever the purposes of these Northern individual and organizations—and The News is not among those who charge them with sinister motives—the only power they possess is one of mischief. Intending to help, they can only hurt the negro by making him the victim of a resentment which they excite. It is not worth while to inquire whether the people of the South are justified in resenting the activities of Northern people and organizations in these matters, although The News thinks they are abundantly. The only pertinent fact is that they do resent these activities, for to all practical-minded men that fact is a warning that the relations between the whites and blacks of the South can not be made better, but only worse, by the unsought counsel and efforts of the people of the North. Not one Southern negro in fifty thousand has any thought of social equality, and much less of racial amalgamation; but they fall under the suspicion of harboring such insane ideas as a result of the gratuitous efforts of Northern people in their behalf. Northern people can not impose their ideas concerning the negro on the South. The only thing that they can possibly accomplish in trying to do so is to generate a spirit of animosity which will be destructive of the Southern negro's welfare. Those negroes who met at Austin manifested a full understanding of this truth. The very first task in the work of improving the condition of the negroes of the South and of making stronger the bonds of confidence and sympathy between them and the white people of the South is to make the white people of the North understand their utter inability to be of help in the doing of that work.

There is a race problem in the South. It would be fatuous to ignore that fact. If any proof of it were needed, it would be sufficient to cite the program for the betterment of race relations presented to the conference of governors at Salt Lake City last month by the president of the Southern Sociological Conference. This body, composed of Southern men and women exclusively, recognizes that a spirit of discontent is more or less prevalent among the negroes, and a spirit of re-

sentiment among the whites, which are detrimental to the interests of both and menacing to the peace and welfare of the South. In some degree both are justified. Among the negroes of the younger generation there is a considerable number who have contracted the vices of modern life without having acquired the virtues which are equally characteristic of it. But in actual numbers they are relatively negligible, and if their power for harm is not also negligible it is because the great mass of negroes have their influence of repression weakened by the fact that the race suffers injustices that are undeniable. For corroboration of this statement we cite again the program of the Southern Sociological Conference, made after a long study of the matter:

First, that the negro should be liberated from the blighting fear of injustice and mob violence. To this end, it is imperatively urgent that lynching be prevented—

1. By the enlistment of negroes themselves in preventing crimes that provoke mob violence.

2. By prompt trial and speedy execution of persons guilty of heinous crimes.

3. By legislation that will make it unnecessary for women who have been assaulted to appear in court to testify publicly.

4. By legislation that will give the governor authority to dismiss a sheriff for failure to protect a prisoner in his charge.

Second, that the citizenship rights of the negro should be safeguarded, particularly—

1. By securing proper traveling accommodations.

2. By providing better housing conditions and preventing extortionate rents.

3. By providing adequate educational and recreational facilities.

Third, that closer co-operation between white and colored citizens should be promoted (without violating race integrity)—

1. By organizing local committees, both white and colored, in as many communities as possible, for the consideration of interracial problems.

2. By the employment of negro physicians, nurses and policemen as far as practicable in works of sanitation, public health and law enforcement among their own people.

3. By enlisting all agencies possible in fostering justice, good will and kindness in all individual dealings of the members of one race with members of the other.

4. By the appointment of a standing committee by the governor of each state for the purpose of making a careful study of the causes of underlying race friction, with the view of recommending proper means for their removal.

In reproducing this program The News does not imply a concurrence in every item of it. Some of them in regards as of doubtful practicality, and some of them of assured impractical-

ity. But the fact that a body of Southern men and women has proposed this program witnesses both the existence of a problem to be solved and the fact that that problem is the product of injustices which are a reproach to the white people of the South. The great mass of Southern negroes harbor no ideas and no aspirations which challenge the supremacy of the whites or their sense of superiority. They are not ambitious to rule. They ask only the equal protection of the laws which the white man makes. They are content with their own black skins and do not seek to change their color by a process of race amalgamation. They seek nothing which it is not both the duty and the interest of the white men to give them, for the negro is one of the South's assets, and an asset whose value will be enhanced by just treatment and that chivalrous consideration which the superior owes to the inferior race. We make too much ado over the presumptuousness, vices and crimes of the vicious negro, forgetting that our own race could be equally condemned if it were to be judged by the character and conduct of its exceptional specimens. We can enlist the great majority of the negroes in the task of putting the vicious ones under subjection by dealing justly and kindly by them. That is indeed the purpose of every white man worthy of his race, and it is because of negligence that the South has tolerated conditions which seem to question his purpose to do so.

NOT ALL PLUGUGLIES

Age AND COWARDS.

Certain expressions from representatives of Texas opinion afford ground for the belief that not all the white men in that State are "pluguglies" or are all the black men cowards, as certain events might lead the hasty reader to suppose.

The ground for the first assertion is found in the columns of the Galveston Daily News, a leading white paper which has heretofore taken strong ground against lynching as practised by too many citizens of the State of Texas. While feeling it necessary to deprecate the meddling of a few white people of the North in the problem of race relation in the South, the News thinks that Governor Hobby was betrayed

into "misrepresenting himself, as well as the people of Texas," when he declared his belief in "Texas for Texans only."

The News also repudiates the Governor's "plugugly" language, delighting in advocating a broken jaw for reformers from the North, claiming that the people of Texas do not believe in lawlessness. Of course this academic assertion has not yet been backed by any visible demonstration, except the pacific protest of the News.

On the other hand the courageous attitude of the Negro newspapers is shown by the statement of the San Antonio Inquirer that it cannot agree with the Rev. L. L. Campbell and other would-be race leaders, who contend that there is no need for complaint the way colored people are treated in the South. This outspoken editor continues:

If there is a colored man in the South who believes in true democracy and the advancement of his people, who says he is satisfied with the living conditions in the Southland, he is either a hypocrite or a fool or both. This is no time for hypocritical propaganda being carried on in this section of the country by some of the leaders at the expense of the race.

We do not want social equality, race riots or lynchings, but we want better living conditions for the colored people, and a better relation between the two races which will have a great effect toward the abolition of lynching and race riots which are disgracing the fair name of America.

While these two utterances do not settle the whole question they go to show that the two races in Texas are not entirely represented by the Campbells and the Hobbys. We congratulate Texas that there are both white and black men brave enough to voice their protest against wrong and injustice.

The Governor of Texas

Advocates Lawlessness

9-20-19

Governor Hobby—what

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doesn't say white Texans; such men never include Negroes as part of the citizen-ship or even as denizens of a State, worthy of mention or consideration. If Texas is to be "for Texans only" the governor ought to fence it with a Chinese wall and keep all outsiders out.

He advocates the "broken jaw" for white men who believe Negroes have the right equal protection of the law and the rights which pertain to citizenship.

His excuse for advocacy of mob law, or, as he puts it, the broken jaw, is the stirring up of "racial discon-

tent" by men from the North who should be awarded the "broken jaw." Evi-

dently the Governor must feel or would have the public believe that the Negroes of Texas are dumb, driven by the proud attitude of a cattle unable to think or feel and would be absolutely contented and happy if not stirred to discontent by out-

siders.

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N.A.A.C.P. - 1919.

L. CAMPBELL The Nashville AVERTS RIOT

PREACHERS SAVE CAPITAL OF TEXAS FROM SHAME

Because of much criticism caused by the erroneous articles which have appeared during the St. John association at Austin Texas, when a disturbance was brewing between the races and reached the boiling point. Many Newspapers have published statements alleged to have come from the lips of Dr. L. L. Campbell, D. D. who is the pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, and Moderator of the St. John Baptist Association and President of the General Convention of Texas. The Nashville Globe publishes a letter from Lietu, J. C. Lott who is Secretary of the meeting and who sent a stenographic report of the statement and a special copy of the resolutions adopted at a mass meeting in which two-thousand citizens of both races were present.

Austin, Tex., Sept, 18, 1919.
The Nashville Globe.
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Sir:—

In response to your favor of recent date addressed to Dr. Campbell, with reference to joint meeting of the white and black people of the city of Austin, to prevent a riot, under the auspices of the Executive Board of the St. John Association on August 31st beg to advise, that Dr. Campbell began his vacation on the 7th inst. and will not resume his labors here before the 1st of the month.

I being a member of said Association and Acting Secretary of the meeting held, and having heard the address of Dr. Campbell also the address to the country, adopted by the Executive Board of the St. John Association and adopted by more than two thousand people of both races, believe I am in position to give you the exact facts in the case. You being a friend and making inquiry of the facts before jumping at conclusions, evidences that you are a man of ability, conservatism and unwilling to do a member of your race an injustice on what somebody may have said, entitles you to all the facts, which I am giving.

I presume you know that Dr. Campbell has spent his life for the advancement of his people. He has pastored one congregation here twenty-seven years; he has been Moderator of the St. John Association twenty-six years. That Association alone established a

school and orphanage with property value of more than \$300,000. He has been president of the Missionary Baptist General Convention of Texas for fifteen years and under his leadership all the mortgages and debts of the four colleges except one have been settled and an accumulation of property value has been made to the amount of over a million dollars. The address he delivered to our Board at the time, was stenographically reported, a copy of which is herewith enclosed. He said no more or less than he has been saying for the last thirty years. His addresses have been published in the daily papers of the country repeatedly. There are some people laboring under the opinion, that he is responsible for the headlines given by the Associated Press. It seems the address in parts, were wired out of Austin to all parts of the world; some asking for a hundred words; some for three hundred words; some for five hundred and more. The Associated Press reporter naturally picked out such parts as he thought would be received by the papers in question, as they were paying so much a word over the wires. It was not the intention of the Associated Press to injure Dr. Campbell or the Negro race, and they have been very fair in acknowledging that the Mass Meeting settled the trouble in Texas for the time being, certainly at Austin. Dr. Campbell, has been congratulated by leading white and colored men all over the south, for his timely effort in allaying the feeling and preventing bloodshed.

Dr. Campbell's friends over the state have not censured him, but those who misunderstood him, have written letters of inquiry, desiring facts in hand before proceeding; his enemies made use of this as a club to destroy his influence, but we are happy to say at this time, that they have made a miserable failure. Personally speaking, those who oppose the mass meeting held here, are opposed to peace between the races. Dr. Campbell was discussing the social conditions, when he said the "Negro was satisfied with conditions." Those who oppose that, are in favor of social intermingling with the whites. Now with reference to the "Negro staying in his place," you will see from the original, that the speech said "all persons should be advised to stay in their places, obey the law and keep out of idleness."

And even if he had said it, no harm or sin has been committed; for every race under the sun has its place in God's great program.

Dr. Campbell, I am sure, will be delighted at any expression you may make in your columns with reference to L. L. CAMPBELL AVERTS RIOTS.

(Continued from page 1)
Dr. L. L. Campbell Prevents a riot
The Nashville Globe
The position is sound and

safe. The best thing for those who cannot subscribe to conditions here socially, is to go to such parts of the world, where they can have intermingling with white people. You will see from the address of Dr. Campbell which is above referred to and herewith enclosed, that he believes in his race and has under contempt for the Negro who tries to drag himself into the society of other people where he is not wanted. The Negro has the best women on earth, and ought to be satisfied with them.

I am forwarding your communication to Dr. Campbell and will also forward such copy of your publication to him on arrival of same. I am also enclosing copy of Resolutions passed at the Mass Meeting of blacks and whites. Remember, Dr. Campbell in his address to us, did not claim to represent anybody but himself—we accepted it with thanks the Press of the country published it as a resolution. Riots are impossible here, and we are all happy.

Thanking you very kindly, and with best wishes, I beg to be,

Very truly yours,
J. C. LOTT,
Secretary.

WHAT DR. CAMPBELL SAID TO THE ST. JOHN EXECUTIVE BOARD WITH REFERENCE TO PEACE BETWEEN THE RACES IN THE SOUTH, ETC.

The Executive Board of the St. John Encampment, is holding its quarterly session at Ebenezer Tabernacle on 10th St., between Waller and San Marcos. Among the many items scheduled at this meeting, may be mentioned, plans for operating the Orphanage another year, arranging budget to cover necessary expense; the employing of teachers and workers.

On account of the present excitement over the country, with reference to race conditions, a resolution was passed, designating an hour for the Body to go on record relating to same. President Campbell, in opening the meeting, took occasion to express himself in no uncertain terms on the question of race adjustment. Among other things, he declared, there was no just grounds for complaint; that the races here in south were getting along smoothly; and where the Negro accepted the advice of his white neighbors,—prosperity was much in evidence. Said he, "There is no disposition to crush out any body down here. Our white friends who know us, are not afraid of us, and they know there isn't any danger of our annihilating them. An ounce of precaution is better than a hundred pounds of cure." The explanation of which

id, that the officers of the law who took necessary precaution to prevent a clash, where indeed wise. "For at the present moment an altercation between one irresponsible black man and white man, while not intended, might be the means of the death of many innocent good citizens of both races. I think we should tender our services to the local authorities, and to his Excellency, Governor Hobby,

assuring them of our sincerity and readiness to cooperate for the law and its enforcement. I think we make no mistake, even at this time, to let it be clearly understood on the part of passionate extremist irreconcilable persons of our own race, who go about with chips on their shoulders, seeking whom they may leavour, or a fight with other people, that we do not approve of the same, and will be in no sense responsible for the outcome; that all people should be advised to obey the Law; stay in their places; keep busy, refusing to be hood-winked by the idle and purposeless class, who go about with grievances of imaginary wrong done the race. I think the time is ripe for conservative council and sane preaching from our pulpits. I find no fault with God for the color of my skin and the texture of my hair: birds of a feather usually flock together, and where one breaks away from his own flock, seeking admission into others, when not wanted there is something unnatural. I believe in my race, in its possibilities, and that God has made of the Negro some of the best people on earth; and every Negro who does not feel that way, ought to tie a rock around his neck and jump in the river for he is of no more service to himself nor anybody; verifying the statement of the meek and lowly Nazarine, who said, "He that believeth not shall be damned."

I am awfully sick and tired of this scare-crow of "Negro domination and social equality terms coined by cheap politicians, who are not capable of producing an issue for the good of the country that would merit the franchise of the voters. We regret very much the riots that have occurred in different sections of our commonwealth. Every day letters are coming from the north and east on the part of some Negroes who went away some time ago, asking for jobs to get back home. There people have learned some valuable lessons. Those of us who remained at home looking after our affairs, not giving away our property, have been growing along every line, and we do not have to start life over. I presume you are glad of the part the race took in the late war; most of you had relatives in the army, whose records were as good as the records of the soldiers of other races, and in some instances, better. It is but natural, as a war after-math, that we have some little clash here and there, until conditions become normal again. Even with that, I am not expecting anything like the riot at Chicago or Washington. I think our officers of the Law deserve special congratulations for the patience they have exercised because of present conditions. There is no doubt about the south being the garden spot of the world, and there is no doubt, that there is something lacking about the man who can't be happy down here; for we have our churches, our schools, our social functions, our fraternal relations, our property and

every conceivable advantage and comfort for our physical, moral and intellectual development. Let us go back to our pulpits with a new vision of God, seeing Him as no respecter of persons, that he draws no color line in character, in merit, in soil production, in cooking, laundering, blacksmithing, an dall industrial pursuits. The man either prospers or suffers, in proportion to his ability to draw out of nature, what God has placed there or him. We should set an hour here for public discussion of racial conditions, and then these discussions should go back to the community. In the meetings we have with reference to the race question, the white citizens of our communities should be invited; and I am sure the best ones among them would be glad of the invitation, and will readily take part in the discussion, in order that the proper conclusions may be reached. The reason I said our white citizens would be glad to attend—the ties brought about in slavery between the whites and blacks, have never been broken. The civil war did not do it, reconstruction after the civil war did not do it, and notwithstanding all the rumors of injustices done in the late war, none of these things have severed the relationship and ties between the races; and with this reconstruction period, as an after-math of the war and the excitement connected therewith, we venture to say that normal conditions, when reached will find the white man and black man of the south, better friends and closer together so far as understanding each other, and working for the best of all concerned.

WHAT THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE ST. JOHN ASSOCIATION ADOPTED IN MASS MEETING BLACKS AND WHITES.

Fellow Countrymen:—

Today is perhaps the greatest day in the history of the old world. We nor any citizens of this great democracy have ever witnessed such times. All about us, in unrest, and the very air we breathe seems to be pregnant with venom and hate. While the world has never passed through such a sudden change, and we are for the first time realizing our responsibility to the social unit, still prejudice and racial lines seem to be more direct and tightly drawn than ever. Every sober minded, well wishing and race loving Negro is much concerned and agitated over conditions. Because we realize whether in peace or war, prosperity or adversity, we, in common with all citizens are materially effected. Wahou th selbdsIETAOIN attitude to the government, his fellow citizens and country, is a question over which many are greatly exercised. Newspapers, magazines, pulpit platform, politics and religion are all devoting much of their time to conditions as they effect the Negro.

Diverse and sundry, theories are being advanced by the wisest sanest and most devout. The statesman is

sleeplessly seeking a solution, the politician is alert that no solution shall effect his personal interest; the prophet is pleading with God for a message; Christians are praying; the church is working, but still we are far from reaching conclusion that satisfy and meet the day and times. Because of extraordinary times and peculiar conditions surrounding us, the St. John Regular Missionary Baptist Association Dr. L. L. Campbell, Moderator, and associated body of the churches, ministers and deacons with a membership totally 20,000, feel it their duty to speak boldly and declare their attitude in respect to these interests effecting us as a race and denomination.

Recently the capital of our nation and other large cities of the north have been disgraced by race riots, in which some of them approximated civil war. Men who fought side by side for democracy, were found destroying and disgracing that democracy in the country, that might well be styled, as the cradle and patron of democracy. It would not be out of place to give briefly what we construe as some of the causes of these riots.

Conditions growing out of the war and re-construction. The Negro while deploring the war, and regretful that a baptism of blood and sorrow came upon us. Still he had hoped for much out of the War respecting his rights and privileges as an American citizen. In fact, he was told by war lecturers of the great debt this country would owe because of this participation in the strife. Looking forward to these things, the Negro was one hundred per cent patriotic. He invested in war saving and thrift stamps, liberty bonds and contributed to the Red Cross and war work campaigns, to the limit of his capacity. They gave their husbands, sons, fatherse willingly and gladly, to pay the supreme and bloody price to make the world safe for democracy, hoping that these sacrifices would be rewarded by better conditions, larger justice and fairer treatment, at the hands of those in power.

The war closed, conflict ended, the boys returned to their homes to find, rather than diminishing, that racial antagonism was increased. Seeing that the golden days seemed to delay their coming, the era of justice to all men slow approaching, some of the Negroes in their impatience seek to hasten their coming by taking the delusive path of violence. It is our belief that conditions for the better are eminent, if only we in our haste do not commit abortion, and send this great and looked for day to an untimely grave. The reforms we expect, must of wisdom and necessity, be slow. Justice cannot be born of injustice; right cannot come from wrong; strife will never bring forth peace.

The soldiers returning to their several communities, bringing with the ma story of reproaches and insults heaped upon them; of great injustices

done them by some of the white officers in France. Some would have them believe that such conduct on the part of these unscrupulous officers was sanctioned by the Department at Washington, but we take the view that the officers in France who did these things were the exception, and not the rule. Jesus as in the days of slavery, all slaves holders were not cruel and unjust, but some were very kind and considerate,—hence, while we admit that possibly there were wrongs and injustices, still the whole shuld not be made to suffer for the conduct of the few. Whoever there fore would seek to stir up strife and blood shed between the races, for causes assigned above is indeed very unwise and inconsiderate.

The Press of the country comes in for their share of condemnation. We refer especially to those magazines, newspapers and periodicals published by Negroes, that magnify the wrongs and minimize the good. The Negro sheet that publishes and brandishes before the eye incendiary articles at this time, is an enemy rather than a friend to the race. The Negroes nor the whites are in any frame of mind for waving the bloody shirt. The magazines that urge upon the Negro ion, except where such is mutual on the part of both races, is laying the foundation for race riots and blood shed in the south. Conditions in the south do not at this time, justify such a course.

There seems to be an organized effort springing from some where, that would array the Negroes against the whites of the south. The inconsistency of such a course is plainly shown by the northern Negro himself; for while he seeks to estrange the whites and blacks of the south, he takes good pains to stay on friendly terms with the whites of the north. The southern Negro must recognize the fact, that he lives in the south; many of hem own farms, operate businesses t appears to us, the saner course is to strive for friendly and helpful co-operation of our southern white people. There isn't a southern white man, but who delights to render what ever assistance he can in a legitimate way to a respectable, honest and trustworthy Negro. Now my friends, it is wisdom on our part, to not allow ourselves to become prejudiced toward our white friends of the south, by big sounding words and unreasonable argument by the Negro of the north. The laboring element have nothing to gain by leading an ear to this propaganda, leaving good jobs, but giving away their property, and moving to the north where conditions and environments are altogether different. The south is a good land, rich in minerals, agricultural products stock raising, etc. The nature of the soil and climatic conditions are suitable for the Negro. Here is the place to stay. Why desert the richest and most fertile part of our country, and flee this beautiful land where opportunity knocks at every man's door? Our leaders in church and civil life

whether north or south, are south good people who are running the country, and who have the laws in their hands, must look into:

The negro must be permitted to have sway at the industrial pursuits in this land where providence has placed us. Our need is, that there should be a larger co-operative spirit within our own ranks, along business lines. If some of these loud speaking, soft handed preachers and professional men who are making their living off the washer women, ditch diggers, cooks, etc., would expend half as much energy in seeking to make them contented and appreciative of the place they fill, as they expend in making the uncomfortable and dissatisfied, the possibilities in this land would be beyond our most flattering hope. We have nothing to gain by disturbing the harmony now existing between the employer and the employed, but as Race leaders, we should urge our people to make the best of opportunities right here.

We discourage and emphatically declare our opposition to people of the north, who do not understand conditions in the south, intermeddling with our relationship, as two distinct races in the south. The southern white man understands the southern Negro and the same is true of the Negro with respect to the white man. If we are left to ourselves, we will in time adjust all of our differences to the good of all concerned.

Preacher Dickson Joins The Flock of Race Adjusters

4-22-19

Gilmer, Texas, Sept. 8.—It has been my pleasure to be a constant reader of your paper for the last twelve years. Your editorials for the last four weeks have said many things in defense of the negro, for which we beg to thank you.

Your editorials a few days ago on this race proposition were the best I have ever read. I am traveling and speaking to our people all the time; I have never witnessed so much unrest in the country in my life. But I am appealing to our white friends throughout the country—those of you who have demonstrated friendship for the negro, and all time appeal to you at this critical moment to continue your faith in the negro.

The negro is just as loyal today as he was the day he was emancipated. When you were fighting in the Civil War, he cut the sprouts and tilled the soil, and protected your wives and children while you were away from home. The negro, as a race, is just as loyal today.

There are some conditions under which the negro is suffering that you

and who have the laws in every profession—large stores. And while they were turned loose ignorant, without an education, they have been able to make such a record as this. They have their own lawyers, their own doctors, dentists, preachers; their own colleges and schools, all in the South. Two thirds of all the Negroes in America are in the South. We want to appeal to the Southern white man to give us a chance. Let us have peace. Let us have fellowship along co-operative lines. Let the Negro build up for his race an autocracy of virtue and Christian integrity. We realize that there is a great improvement here for the Negro to make, and he must be given a chance to make that. He must seek the co-operation of his white brother, but of one blood. God created all Nations, races and nationalities—let us have peace. And we would suggest that the leading white men of this State call a meeting with the leading Negroes, by this plan reaching a more congenial method which we can all pursue.

The Negro is here. He is not going away. He is not all going to be killed. And since that is true, let us have a peaceful relationship; let him buy more land, improve his home. Let the American white man so regulate his laws that the Negro can protect his family, just as the white man protects his family, and let the prejudice between the races be set aside. Let the Negro attend to his own business—the white man to his business—and yet, be friends. Thanking you in advance for this space I am, very truly yours.

They realize that the white man controls this country, realize that he ought to, because he possesses the intelligence and wealth. The negro realizes that he is the under dog, and needs help, and while he realizes that he wants the blue-blooded Anglo-Saxon to give him a chance.

We desire to say to the public and to the world, that we do not believe that any Northern white man or Northern negro can come down here and do us any good. The negro in the South and the white man in the South must, work out their own salvation. We realize that we have a problem—a problem that must be settled between the Southern white man and the negro.

I expect to attend the national Baptist convention, which will convene in Norfolk, Va., on the 11th day of September. I expect to address 20,000 of the representative negroes throughout the South, and I expect to lay it upon the hearts of those leaders that they, too, must help settle the minds of the irresponsible and restless class of our people.

I expect to say to the Northern Negro and the Northern white man to take their hands off, and let us solve our own problems. I came to Texas in 1865. I have been here ever since. The Negroes pay taxes in Texas on \$20,000,000 worth of property. We were just born (comparatively speaking) the other day. The Negroes are paying taxes in the city of Dallas on \$2,070,000.—The Negroes in Texas are buying farms and property in the city many owning ranches—five Negro banks in the State—any number of real estate and business men of

W.L. DICKSON,
President and Manager Dickson Colored Orphanage.

N. A. A. C. P. - 1919

N. A. A. C. P. Issues Statement Of Facts In Relation To Secretary Shillady's

Visit To Texas

The Daily Herald
**Declares That Negroes Who Think For Them-
selves, Or White Men Who Dare To Openly
Favor Justice To Them, Are Not
Safe In The South**

New York, August 23, 1919.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People makes known the following facts regarding the situation in Austin, Texas, which lead to its Secretary, John R. Shillady's visit to the Capitol at Austin:

The City of Austin has one of the largest branches of the Association in Texas, numbering 316 members. Texas, indeed, has the highest membership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of any state of the Union, 7,046 members with 31 branches. It was, therefore, with great concern that on August 11 the National Association Secretary received a letter from P. A. Williams, President of the Austin Texas, Branch, saying that on August 9 the Deputy Sheriff had served a citation on him to appear at the Court of the Justice of Peace bringing all books, papers, correspondence, etc. belonging or pertaining to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He complied, was interrogated for thirty minutes and dismissed. At his writing he was under the ruling of the court and could not tell us any more.

Mr. Shillady, on receipt of this communication, left New York going

first to Chicago to do some work regarding the recent riots, and from there to Texas, reaching Texas Thursday

day. It was on Friday that the outrageous attack was made upon him.

It is unnecessary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to make the statement that it intends to do everything in its power to punish the offenders and to make the country ring with a knowledge of the conditions in the capital city of Texas. Only in the southern states of America could we read that a Judge and Deputy Sheriff beat up a citizen visiting their city in the interests of a well known Association, highly honored, of ten years standing, an Association with Moorfield Storey, former President of the Bar Association, as President, Major J. Spingarn as its Treasurer, with the Governor of Minnesota as the President of one of its branches, and Senator Capper, until recently, President of another, an Association that has stood always for kindly dealing and fair play.

The Association believes that the citizens of the United States feel with it profound indignation at this latest expression of mob violence. No colored man who appears to think for himself is safe in the South and it would seem that the same is true today of any white man who

has the courage to espouse his cause.

The Annual Report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was put in the

hands of the District Attorney, Deputy State. The National Association has been Secretary of the National ty Sheriff and the Justice of the the Advancement of Colored People Association for the Advancement of Peace in Austin. They read its chief is concerned primarily with public Colored People. His work has been aims stated as follows:

1. A vote for every Negro man and woman on the same terms as for white men and women.

2. An equal chance to acquire the kind of an education that will enable the Negro everywhere to use this vote.

3. A fair trial in the courts for all crimes of which he is accused, by judges in whose election he has participated without discrimination because of race.

4. A right to sit upon the jury which passes judgement upon him.

5. Defense against lynching and burning at the hands of mobs.

6. Equal service on railroad and other public carriers. This to mean sleeping car service, dining car service, Pullman service, at the same cost and upon the same terms as other passengers.

7. Equal right to the use of public parks, libraries and other community services for which he is taxed.

8. An equal chance for a livelihood in public and private employment.

9. The abolition of color-hyphe-nation and the substitution of "straight Americanism."

The demand for equal service on railroads and public carriers they took a special exception to. They also advised discontinuance of The CRISIS. They talked about social equality. In the same report, the Association, in Mr. Shillady's forceful language, makes this statement regarding social equality which it believes and for which it intends to battle to the end:

"Nor should any one be led astray by the tiresome talk about 'social equality.' Social equality is a private question which may well be left to individual decision. But, the prejudices of individuals cannot be accepted as the controlling policy of a

equality. America is a nation—notespecially directed toward dissemination of a private club. The privileges noating information regarding race less than duties of citizenship belong riots and calling upon the governors of right to no separate class of the of the various states to prevent such people but to all the people, and to outrages and to punish the offenders. With the President of the Association and the laws are for the protection, Mr. Moorfield Storey, of tion of the minority and of the un-Boston, formerly President of the popular, no less than for the favor-American Bar Association, he se-ites of fortune, or they are of no-cured the issuance of a call for a na-meaning as American instruments of tional Conference on Lynching in government. New York in May of this year. The

Will not the readers of this article Conference went on record as de-wire or write to their Senators and manding a Congressional investiga-Representatives expressing their in-tion of the facts of lynchings and dignation at the treatment accorded mob violence in the United States. Mr. Shillady in Texas, and urging The attack upon Mr. Shillady is one upon them a Congressional investi-more instance showing the necessity gation of mob violence in the United of such an investigation.

N. A. A. C. P. Issues State ment In Regard To Secretary Shillady's Visit To Texas

The Daily Herald
New York, August 23, 1919.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People makes the following statement regarding the attack upon its Secretary John R. Shillady, in Austin, Texas, on August 22.

The Association has for ten years been at work in an effort to bring before the people of the United State the necessity of the suppression of mob violence. It has repeatedly called attention of the nation to the facts of lynching and mob rule. It has shown that every Negro in the Southern States who dares to stand upon his rights as a citizen endangers his life.

That the Secretary of this Association, visiting Texas on ordinary business in the course of his work, should have been beaten up by a deputy sheriff and a judge is another

proof of the utter disregard of the South for decency and order.

Mr. Shillady, since February, 1918

Mr. Shillady's presence in Texas was entirely in order. He went down to advocate a program that had been endorsed by the Attorney General of the United States and every living Ex-Attorney General, governors of southern states and leaders of public opinion throughout the nation. He went down on a matter that seriously interested the American people and was fundamental to democracy. Austin has a branch of 300 members which had been doing able work in cooperation with the State Department in relation to the recent outbreak at Longview, Texas.

Mr. Shillady is a man of absolute courage, great ability and high integrity. He has consecrated himself to the task of securing a fair deal for the Negro in America. Back of him are men and women, white and colored, some in powerful positions, others in humble ones, but all determined that America shall no longer

make a disgrace of democracy, shall no longer talk of helping weaker peoples abroad and denying the first rights of citizenship to people at home.

The question is squarely before us whether or not a man can advocate

law and order without being attack-

ed by a mob which according to the done.

newspaper stories, was headed by county officials.

TEXAS DISAPPROVES GOVERNOR'S METHODS.
The Galveston Daily News.

Governor Hobby probably didn't mean the strict import of his words when he declared at Fort Worth: "I believe in Texas for Texans only, and just as strongly do I believe that Texans should be the people to say how the affairs of the state should be conducted." He was discussing the recent race disturbances, and doubtless intended only to voice a sense of resentment because of a growing disposition on the part of a very few white people in the North to meddle in the problem of race relation in the South. In that feeling of resentment the people of the state generally will sympathize. But we are sure that no considerable number of them would indorse the whole implication of his words. The progress and present greatness of Texas are attributable in a very large degree to men who have come to it from other states and other sections of the country, as well as to the social, commercial and political intercourse of the people of Texas with those of other states and sections. The people of Texas do not wish to deprive themselves of influences which have worked such beneficent effects, and we are persuaded that neither does Governor Hobby, an inept use of words probably having betrayed him into misrepresenting himself, as well as the people of Texas.

We wish we could find some such charitable explanation of Governor Hobby's further statement that he believes "in sending any narrow-brained, double-chinned reformer who comes here with the end in view of stirring up racial discontent back to the North where he came from, with a broken jaw if necessary." Unfortunately, there is reason for thinking that Governor Hobby harbors exactly the feeling which that statement expresses. But an overwhelming majority of the people of Texas do not. The News is sure, and its reason for expressing this conviction is its desire to save the people of Texas, as much as it can, from incurring the reputation which the publication of that plug-ugly language from the governor of the state is so well designed to fasten upon them. Of course the activities which Governor Hobby so rudely denounces are an impertinence, and one which is injurious both to the whites and the blacks, but more to the blacks than to the whites. But the method which Governor Hobby sanctions for discouraging those who are given to these impertinent activities is not approved by the majority of the people of Texas. They do not believe in lawlessness, nor does Governor Hobby possess the power of persuasion sufficiently to overcome their repugnance for it. Furthermore, the people of Texas are not so distrustful of their own intelligence as to feel that it is only by resorting to violence that they can accomplish whatever needs to

Galaxy of Orators Meet at N. A. A. C. P. Conference

Thousands Flock to Sessions Pledging Support to Fight For Justice—The Keynote of Addresses Is Militant

Cleveland threw open her doors this week, and bade the Tenth Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, welcome right royally.

The sessions of the Conference were held for the most part at St. John's A. M. E. church, which beautiful edifice was placed at the disposal of the local committee by the pastor and trustees. The only word that might be said in passing, is that the auditorium was too small to take care of the vast crowds which flocked to all the public meetings, so great was the interest in the Conference. An introductory meeting was held Sunday when Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Dean Pickens, and Bishop Hurst were the principal speakers.

The first speaker commended Secretary of War Newton D. Baker for his efforts to function without prejudice to the Colored soldiers, but added that "although the administration of the selective draft service was fair to white and Colored men alike, they were only five Colored men appointed to draft boards throughout the country."

"Statistics show that 10 per cent of the draft registrants were Colored and that the rate of rejection among the whites were higher than among the Colored registrants, the ratio being 76 to 64," said Mr. Scott.

Continuing he stated that the number of Colored men in service ought to have given us 8,000 commissions as against the 1,200 we received, and that American Negro soldiers were the only group who had to fight for the right to fight, and then prove that they could fight, and we did it."

Dean Wm. Pickens who was introduced by Miss Mary White Ovington, chairman of the Executive Board, as the "Negro Ward Beecher," declared that "The Negro soldier was safer, and knew it for himself, under the shell fire of No Man's Land, than amidst the persecuting shafts of race hatred back home. He further declared that it needs more courage for a Colored man to board a Pullman car, down around Vicksburg, Miss., than for a white man to go to war. Our troops showed beyond a shadow of a doubt that black is a safe color—It won't run, concluded Dean Pickens.

Bishop John Hurst urged a rally to the Association in his splendid address.

The opening session of the conference proper was held Monday morning, addresses of welcome being delivered by Director Floyd Waite on behalf of Mayor Davis and Paul L. Feiss, president of the Chamber of Commerce. The latter in his address paid a high tribute to the ability of a group of race men in Cleveland (The Realty Housing & Investment Co.) saying in part: "Get education and

character, and business credit as your —race men in Cleveland have demonstrated by their ability to keep together, doing business, thus demanding the respect of those who doubt the capabilities of your race." In conclusion he said: "The Association you represent is a good one and worthy of all the help I can give it."

Rev. H. C. Bailey, pastor of Antioch Baptist church, in responding to the welcome declared: "I would rather spend the balance of my life in the cause of the Association, than to preach to men and women under such damnable injustice in our so-called democracy."

John R. Shillady, National Secretary, gave a summary of the growth of the militant organization for justice, and the phenomenal measure of support it had received, especially in Texas, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama and other southern states.

"There is a challenge more menacing to American institutions of freedom and more dangerous than the threat of the Hun and it must be met and crushed, not with the sword—that is the last resort—but first with the vote, and, failing, then with the economic strike."

The challenge "is the oppression of the Colored man," said Maj. J. E. Spingarn. He added that he believed the Colored vote would remedy discrimination, but suggested that if this failed the economic strike of America's 12,000,000 colored men would bring results.

"Publicity for the 12,000,000 Negroes," was the subject of the Monday afternoon meet, Rev. John S. Williams of Omaha, presiding. Mr. Shaw of the Plain Dealer expained what constituted "real news" to a newspaper and urged a wider use of the Negro Press by the Association.

The sessions were presided over by Wm. R. Connors of The Welfare Association when "Labor and Industry" was the subject. The evening meeting being held at East Technical High School auditorium.

The Pilgrimage to Oberlin Wednesday, attracted a large number of delegates and visitors, in view of the splendid contribution to the race's educational advancement by this great institution. Mass meetings were held at Finney Chapel, addresses being made by Mayor W. H. Phillips, and Dr. E. T. Bosworth, acting president of the college. President Charles Franklin Thwing of Western Reserve University, presided. The subject was "Education."

At Thursday's sessions "The Vote," was considered. Sully James, noted Springfield attorney, presiding. An excellent address was delivered by Hon. Charles Cottrill of Toledo, Rev. E. I. Gilliam of Columbus opening the discussion. At the evening session held at Cory M. E. church, Butler Wilson, president of the N. A. A. C. P. branch, of Boston, presided, the address being delivered by Hon. Henry L. Emerson, member of

Congress from the 22nd Ohio district, declaring that those journals, publish

The Friday sessions were to be devoted to discussion of branch business, meeting being confined to members only, and the presentation of the Spingarn medal to Archibald H. Grimke of Washington in the evening, at Central High School auditorium.

More in detail about the meetings Friday and Saturday will be published in next issue.

The big attraction Saturday, however, will be a mammoth mass meeting at Grays Armory, Boliver road and Prospect, when Rev. Peezavia O'Connell, pastor of Cory M. E. church, Walter F. White, assistant secretary N. A. A. C. P., and Prof. Gregg of Kansas City, are scheduled to be the principle speakers.

The Richmond Planet
If the brutal beating of Mr. John R. Shillady in Austin, Texas had accomplished no other result, the fact that it has brought about a conference of the better class of white and colored people of the Lone Star State to discuss the race question will compensate in a large measure for all of the embarrassment and suffering experienced by that distinguished white leader.

The Associated Press sends out the following:

Austin, Texas., Sept. 1.—Resolutions declaring emphatic opposition "people of the North who do not understand conditions in the South in interfering with our relationship," adopted by the executive board of the St. John's Missionary Negro Baptist Association were made public at a meeting here last night of two thousand Negroes and more than one hundred white persons called to discuss the race question.

"If we are left to ourselves," the resolution declared, "we will, in time adjust all our differences for the good of all concerned."

The Negro Baptist Association which called the meeting has a membership of 20,000 Negroes in the vicinity of Austin.

A portion of the preamble to the resolution declares:

"Those magazines, newspapers and periodicals, published by Negroes, that magnify the wrongs and minimize the good, that publish and brandish before the eye incendiary articles at this time, are enemies rather than friends of the race."

Negroes here say the Austin meeting is the beginning of a nation-wide movement to establish a better understanding between the races.

It is a fact that we have been left to ourselves down here and it is a fact that we are largely adjusting some of our differences for the good of all concerned. We join with the St. John's Missionary Negro Baptist Association's Executive Board in

OLD NEGRO MELODIES PLEASE LARGE CROWD

Only the Music of Colored Composers Offered on Program.

The Auditorium last evening rocked with the melody of such old negro melodies as "I Know the Lord Will Stand by Me," sung by 300 negro voices, and echoed the chanting air of "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," sung as a solo.

The occasion was an entertainment given by the united choir-chorus, under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the concert was attended by several hundred of the most representative colored people in the city and by a large delegation of white people as well. The hearty applause after every number indicated the popular approval given the singers and the program.

The program was unique in that it contained only the music of negro composers. Kemper Harrell was director of the chorus and Florence Harris accompanist.

There is no doubt but that the group of negro melodies sung by Pearl Bryant and chorus gave the greatest pleasure, but several negro spirituals and "Deep River" were delightful as well. Rev. A. D. Williams, pastor of Ebenezer Baptist church, presided, and Lieutenant Charles A. Shaw made a talk on behalf of the N. A. A. C. P. He gave as the fundamental principles of the association's program: A vote for every colored man and woman as for any other citizen; an equal chance for education; a fair trial in all courts; the right to sit on juries which try them; protest against lynching; equal service on trains and other public carriers; equal rights in parks, libraries, etc.; an abolition of color distinctions, and an endeavor toward straight Americanism. Social equality is not included, he pointed out, that being an individual matter. Dr. P. J. Bryant, of the Wheat Street Baptist church, made an announcement regarding the association, and President John Hop-

of Morehouse college, delivered an address.

N.A.A.C.P. - 1919

CELEBRATED INFORMER RAMBLER

CONFABS WITH GREAT AUSTIN "DOC"

HAS NEW VIEW ON RACE ISSUE

The Houston
CIMBEE'S RAMBLINGS
9-3-19



I just got back home from Austin, Texas. (No, I didn't get sent up there to the Crazy House). I went up to interview the Rev. Dr. L. L. Campbell, concerning his noted speech, delivered at the opening of the St. John Baptist Association. Me and the "doc" had a long confab together, 'way out on the dam road. (Shut up! I mean the road which leads to the dam.) "Doc" got the best of the argument, however, and I come back a sadder but wiser man.

No, children, we ain't got no business complaining 'bout our treatment. In the first place the "doc" explained to me that the white folks were over here in America, 'tending to their own business, and our fore parents stole some Dutchman's ship and brought ourselves over here and made the white man feed us and clothe us for 200 years.

That's where the saying arose: "The white man's burden."

About this time some folks who was nutty 'bout some crazy saying of some rabid abolitionists, who didn't like to see our folks impoverishing their Southern brethren like we was doing, got up a great big army and made our friends quit feeding us. The "doc" sure got eloquent along here, and pictured to me what a good time my folks were having. Nothing to do 'cept a little plowing and hoeing and chopping and cooking and picking cotton, which didn't keep them busy but about 168 hours a week. After the white man was freed, the "doc" went on to tell me how the darkies used to chase them things called pat-a-rollers, and others called Ku-Klux. I almost shed tears, the "doc" had become so dramatic, while picturing the horrors

heaped upon the poor citizens of the other race by the blood-thirsty blacks.

Even now in these days and times, the "doc" showed me how the white man pays the taxes and our people reap the benefits, they paying \$1.80 on the \$100 and our folks only pay \$1.79 and 4/4 cents. The best soft streets are reserved for the blacks, while the other race is compelled to wear out their shoe-leather on old hard paved streets.

On the trains our folks get the best place, right up near the engine, where they can shake hands and chat with the fireman and engineer, and to keep from getting lonesome, we have the "butcher" boy and train crew as companions.

In our sections of the towns the colored man is so haughty he won't allow any other race to stay, except they run a corner store and as soon as we compelled him to get rich, we make him move on one of those hard paved streets and dare him to speak to our people. We even make him object to our jitneys passing by his home.

The divine even spoke of how badly our soldier boys acted in France, trying to prejudice the French people against the good soldiers of the other race from America. He even said our soldiers tried to get all the white officers removed from their commands and have their place filled by black officers.

On our way back to the encampment ground, hotfooting it, of course the "doc" didn't want to hurt nobody's feelings by using his auto, I was told how the colored man refuses to vote at the elections because he is so "big-zety," and lots of other things too numerous to mention.

About 10 p. m. we reached the grounds where I expected to see that 10,000 people, but for some reason I could only count about 300 folks. Guess the others ran around so I couldn't count 'em.

No more complainin' from Cimbee, 'cause I've been made to see the subject in a different light. Nothing like having a fine educated minister to lead you. O, boy!

RESOLUTION:

Whereas, John B. Shillady, secretary of the National Association for the advancement of Colored People, was, while on legitimate business assaulted in the city of Austin, Texas on the 22nd day of August, 1919; and

Whereas, it is reported as an aftermath of this occurrence, that a Baptist Association in the state of Texas has passed a resolution which in effect would rather place the blame for the assault upon its victim and goes on record as opposed to the efforts of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to procure the legal rights of the black American citizens, counting such efforts as "interferences", and

Whereas, an erroneous impression is likely to be had by the world at large, unless a specific and correct expression is made by some nationally representative body of the race; therefore be it

RESOLVED, (1) That this Convention representative as it is of over three million black citizens of the United States, and exerting an influence over at least twice as many more, stands for LAW and ORDER, and against mobocracy and riot whether north, south, east or west in our great country. (2) That while we recognize that there are peculiar local conditions in the social life of all sections of the country which must be regarded in all efforts at civic or political reform, yet we claim all of the legal rights of American citizens, and will never cease to strive in a peaceable way for the full enjoyment of all those rights.

(3) Resolved, That this expression accredited to the Texas Association heretofore referred to can only represent an isolated local sentiment; that the prevailing sentiment of the Negro race everywhere in America is opposed to the punishment of any man before trial and conviction; opposed to disfranchisement, "jim-crowism" and racial proscription, and appreciates heartily any effort made in behalf of the rights of the black citizens of the United States, by any friend or friendly organization whether north, south, east or west.

(The above resolution was offered by the Rev. R. M. Caver, Moderator Union District Association, Little Rock, Ark., and unanimously adopted by the National Baptist Convention on September 13th, 1919, at Newark.

NEGROES DEMAND VOTE. EQUAL RIGHTS

CLEVELAND O PLAIN DEALER

JUNE 27, 1919

Delegates Adopt Resolutions Asking Civil and Social Concessions.

Twelve hundred colored people, directly representing 100,000 members of their race and indirectly representing the 10,000,000 colored people in the United States, voiced their appeal for fundamental justice for the race at the meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People in St. John's Episcopal church, Center street, yesterday.

The appeal is phrased as a platform of human rights. It aims at the righting of conditions in the south which colored speakers pointed out as entirely unknown to the people of Cleveland and of other northern cities.

"You are the America we must appeal to now," one spokesman from the south told a group of interested white citizens of Cleveland.

Blanks in the platform of rights adopted yesterday are:

A vote for every negro man and woman on the same terms as for white men and women.

An equal chance to acquire the kind of an education that will enable the negro wisely to use his vote.

A fair trial in the courts for every negro by judges in whose election negroes have participated.

A right to sit upon the jury which passes judgment upon negroes.

Defense against lynching and burning at the hands of mobs.

Equal and unsegregated service on railroads and Pullman cars.

Equal right to the use of public parks, libraries and other community services for which he is taxed.

An equal chance for a livelihood in public and private employment.

Abolition of color-hypnotism and the substitution of "straight Americanism."

This program was presented by H. S. Murphy, secretary of the Birmingham branch of the association and of the resolutions committee of the convention.

The adoption of the platform followed repeated protests from the floor of the conference by colored speakers from the south, who called conditions in southern states and cities intolerable.

The conference also framed a warning to the American people to give the negro substantial justice. It said:

"All true Americans view with concern the efforts of discontented people to disrupt our government, and we warn the American people that the patience of even a negro can find its limit.

"With poor schools, jim crow methods of travel, little or no justice in courts or in things economic staring him in the face at a time when the negro is called upon to bear his part of the burden of tax-

tion, government loans, civic gifts and in fighting the common foes of our government, we are inviting the negro to grasp the hands which the Bolsheviks, the I. W. W. and other kindred organizations hold out to him."

"It cannot be expected that negro leaders can forever hold out empty hope to a people deluded in toto."

The conference platform urged the negro to organize for his protection in industry, accepting the invitation of the American Federation of Labor recently given at Atlantic City to join with it wherever possible.

The report of the resolutions committee asked for a congressional investigation of the treatment of colored soldiers at home and abroad.

"We are aware," the report said, "of instances in which both officers and men were thrown into prison on the merest pretenses, or on charges which rightfully should fall upon white officers and men."

"The shameless and cunning manipulation in which colored officers and men have been treated was not only discriminatory, but violation of the spirit of the American people toward men who are offering their lives for a great cause."

"We are opposed to race segregation in the army and navy of the United States, since it cheats our government of that which is best in discipline and spirit; but if that separation is provided by law, we demand a full division in the army, to be officered from top to bottom by colored men."

A colored religious leader from Paris, Ky., told the conference that when a paper published by a negro had urged recently that colored workers of that part of Kentucky organize to secure better industrial conditions, white-robed horsemen, dressed after the manner of the Klu Klux Klan of the days following the Civil war, had pounced upon the publishers of the paper and terrorized them into silence.

Delegates who have attended other sessions of the association said yesterday that a new spirit of bitterness has arisen among colored leaders since last year's session.

This they ascribed to new conditions of repression that have grown up in the south out of the white population's fear that the negro is "stuck up" as a result of his war successes, and to the hope of democracy for them which the negroes had nurtured during the war and which they are not finding fulfilled in their own communities.

The sessions will close tomorrow night. An open session at Central high school, E. 55th street, near Cedar avenue S. E., at 8 tonight, will be addressed by Oswald Garrison Villard, New York, editor of the Nation. Tomorrow night there will be a mass meeting at the Grays armory with Harry E. Davis, Cleveland attorney, presiding. The subject for discussion will be "Anti-Lynching."

Hailed as the "Apostle of Liberty," Charles Edward Russell, New York, one of the members of the Root mission to Russia, was cheered last night when he appeared unexpectedly before more than 2,000 colored people who gathered for the evening session in Cory M. E. church, E. 35th street and Scovill avenue S. E. The subject under discussion was "Votes for All."

"Men who shudder at the word radicalism have only to look to the south, for it is there practiced."

through injustices upon the negro, making stronger the bonds of conf-inter-racial problems. aid Mr. Russell. "As a man soweth so shall he reap." It is so with our nation," he continued. He told the delegates that "it is your votes that will stop these shameful injustices against your race and avert the wrath of righteous judgement from God."

"Stand united," he advised the colored voters of the north. "If you do so, you can solve these monstrous injustices." He asserted that with a united vote, the colored voters of the north could name the next incumbent in the White House.

"To talk of a perfection of democracy in America is idle while negroes in the south cannot vote," he said. Finally he told the audience that "you were good enough to shed your blood for world freedom, now you will see perfect ideals of government in our land."

DALLAS TEX NEWS
SEPTEMBER 7, 1919
THE SOUTHERN RACE PROBLEM.

Those negroes who met at Austin last week and repudiated the solicited but unsolicited concern which Northern individuals and organizations have been showing for their welfare were wisely prompted. Whatever the purposes of these Northern individuals and organizations—and The News is not among those who charge them with sinister motives—the only power they possess is one of mischief. Intending to help, they can only hurt the negro by making him the victim of a resentment which they excite. It is not worth while to inquire whether the people of the South are justified in representing the activities of Northern people and organizations in these matters, although The News thinks they are abundantly. The only pertinent fact is that they do resent these activities, for to all practical-minded men that fact is a warning that the relations between the whites and blacks of the South can not be made better, but only worse, by the unsought counsel and efforts of the people of the North. Not one Southern negro in fifty thousand has any thought of social equality, and much less of racial amalgamation; but they fall under the suspicion of harboring such insane ideas as a result of the gratuitous efforts of Northern people in their behalf. Northern people can not impose their ideas concerning the negro on the South. The only thing that they can possibly accomplish in trying to do so is to generate a spirit of animosity which will be destructive of the Southern negro's welfare. Those negroes who met at Austin manifested a full understanding of this truth. The very first task in the work of improving the condition of the negroes of the South and of

making stronger the bonds of conf-inter-racial problems. 2. By the employment of negro physicians, nurses and policemen as far as practicable in works of sanitation, public health and law enforcement among their own people.

3. By enlisting all agencies possible in fostering justice, good will and kindness in all individual dealings of the members of one race with members of the other.

4. By the appointment of a standing committee by the Governor of each State for the purpose of making a careful study of the causes of underlying racial friction with the view of recommending proper means for their removal.

In reproducing this program The News does not imply a concurrence in every item of it. Some of them it regards as of doubtful practicality, and some of them of assured impracticability. But the fact that a body of Southern men and women has proposed this program witnesses both the existence of the problem to be solved and the fact that that problem is the product of injustices which are a reproach to the white people of the South. The great mass of Southern negroes harbor no ideas and no aspirations which challenge the supremacy of the whites or their sense of superiority. They are not ambitious to rule. They ask only the equal protection of the laws which the white man makes. They are content with their own black skins and do not seek to change their color by a process of race amalgamation. They seek nothing which it is not both the duty and the interest of the white men to give them, for the negro is one of the South's assets, and an asset whose value will be enhanced by just treatment and that chivalrous consideration which the superior owes to the inferior race. We make too much ado over the presumptuousness, vices and crimes of the vicious negro, forgetting that our own race could be equally condemned if it were to be judged by the character and conduct of its exceptional specimens. We can enlist the great majority of the negroes in the task of putting the vicious ones under subjection by dealing justly and kindly by them. That is indeed the purpose of every white man worthy of his race, and it is because of negligence that the South has tolerated conditions which seem to question his purpose to do so.

First, that the negro should be liberated from the blighting fear of injustice and mob violence. To this end, it is imperatively urgent that lynching be prevented—

1. By the enlistment of negroes themselves in preventing crimes that provoke mob violence.

2. By prompt trial and speedy execution of persons guilty of heinous crimes.

3. By legislation that will make it unnecessary for women who have been assaulted to appear in court to testify publicly.

4. By legislation that will give the Governor authority to dismiss a Sheriff for failure to protect a prisoner in his charge.

Second, that the citizenship rights of the negro should be safeguarded, particularly—

1. By securing proper traveling accommodations.

2. By providing better housing conditions and preventing extortionate rents.

3. By providing adequate educational and recreational facilities.

Third, that closer co-operation between white and colored citizens should be promoted (without violating race integrity)—

1. By organizing local committees both white and colored, in as many communities as possible, for the consideration of

of the "publicity matter," in popular slang, "bunk," of organizations designed to work on public susceptibilities and pocketbooks. Many of these have no other purpose than to provide employment for a secretary and a stenographer or two. Aside from this the benefit is negligible.

We suspect that the enlightened colored man has become suspicious of the organized Uplift down in Gotham, where the person belongs who was recently booted out of Texas. For there was a meeting of negroes in Austin the other night, to consider Northern meddling with their affairs. The meeting was held at the instance of the executive board of St. John's Missionary Negro Baptist Association, which has a membership of 20,000 in and about Austin. There were two thousand colored people at the meeting which adopted these resolutions, after talking over the advent of the Northern Uplift:

"We discourage and emphatically declare our opposition to people of the North who do not understand conditions in the South, intermeddling with our relationship. If we are left to ourselves we will in time adjust all our differences for the good of all concerned. We tender our services to local and state authorities in allaying this nervousness and uneasiness now existing between the races."

The preamble to the resolution denounced inflammatory negro publications, and said in conclusion: "The magazines that urge upon the negro to force him into political positions, except where such is mutual upon the part of both races, are laying the foundation for race riots and bloodshed in the South."

The race propaganda recently instituted by the society of which Shilladay is secretary proceeds exactly along the lines followed by the Socialistic and pro-German organizations which preceded it. The negro "organ" it fathers differs in no important respect from the Masses, Bull and George Sylvester Viereck's Fatherland. They each and all depend upon upheaval to make a hit.

Anti-Lynching Mass Meeting To Denounce Shilladay

Assault
Great Gathering Expected Tues

day Night In New York To Hear Mr. Shillady's Story Of The Attack

New York, Sept. 15.—John R. Shilladay, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who was assaulted in Austin, Texas, will tell the story of the attack at a mass meeting Tuesday night in the meeting hall of the Society for Ethical Culture, 2 West 64th Street.

Among the speakers will be Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois editor of The Crisis, Major J. E. Spingarn, late of the American Expeditionary Force in France. Resolutions calling upon Congress for a nation-wide investigation of lynching and mob violence will be presented to the meeting.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today made public the following telegram from Jacob H. Schiff, endorsing the meeting.

"I wish to be united in the strongest terms in the protest which will no doubt be forthcoming against the outrage perpetrated against Mr. Shilladay in Austin, Texas. Your Association, which I consider it a privilege to support, is one of the most valuable agencies in uplift work among the colored people and the insult to its representative is a blot upon the fair name of our country."

Mr. Shillady's Version.
Shilladay

The newspaper accounts I have read say that the assault was made by three men, but this is incorrect, as there were at least six and more likely eight. In addition to Judge Pickle and the constable, Hamby, there was an automobile with about the toughest looking set of men I had seen in a long while, and my travels have taken me into all sorts of places since I began work of this character."

ROCHESTER N Y HERALD

SEPTEMBER 6, 1919

Worrying the Negro.

The white secretary of an organization which appears to have been designed to create friction between the races was recently invited to leave a Texas city at the toe of the community boot. We have noticed for a long time that our waste basket is most receptive

The Immediate Cause of
The Anderson (S. C.)

Outrages
The Daily Herald

We have received more light on the Anderson. South Carolina, outrages.

It will be remembered that Principal M. H. Gassaway of the Anderson City School, Rev. Batchelor Pastor of the leading Negro Baptist Church, and Timmons, the editor of a Negro newspaper were charged with teaching and advocating "social equality" by reason of their connection with the N. A. A. C. P., whose chief object is to teach "social equality," and were ordered by a mob all of whose members are well known to leave Anderson or suffer the penalty of death.

It now transpires that the direct and immediate offense of "social equality" which Rev. Batchelor, Prof. Gassaway and Editor Timmons committed was their activity in aiding in the defense of a highly respected Negro school teacher who had been brutally treated by ruffian clerks in a Woolworth store in that city. She was accused of stealing lace from the Woolworth store, was set upon while in another store dragged to the Woolworth store, choked and beaten by the clerks, arrested and tried in the city court and acquitted. She thereupon sued the Woolworth company for \$10,000 for physical injuries and humiliation and damage to her character. A jury with

an elemental sense of justice gave her a verdict for twenty-five dollars! The same jury would have sent a Negro clerk or merchant to the electric chair or joined a mob to lynch him for insulting a white woman under similar or any circumstances whatever. Gassaway, Batchelor and Timmons were made to leave their homes, driven out as criminals, because they used the local Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. to push the case of outraged womanhood in her effort to secure justice and vindicate her good name through the courts of law.

In the eyes of the despicable little sheet, *The Daily Tribune*, that led the agitation that culminated in the driving out of three peaceable Negroes from Anderson, and that is making that city a hell for Negroes, it is an attempt to teach or practice social equality for members of the race even its women, to refuse to humbly submit to insult, brutal indignities or personal violence. Any resentment of such treatment by a resort to legal means or otherwise is an assertion of "social equality" and must be summarily and forcibly suppressed.

And it is in that regard that the N. A. A. C. P. offends; it seeks to organize Negroes for their own protection under the law, to fight legally to secure their rights in the courts.

Such an organization is dangerous and if permitted to grow and become stronger in the South will destroy

the right of mobs to lynch and burn Negroes at will, of individuals to cheat, harass and oppress poor and ignorant Negroes without fear of legal investigation or punishment.

Hundreds of thousands of Negroes in the South endure personal violence harsh and brutal treatment, insult and innumerable indignities, and oppressions of every kind because of lack of money to employ lawyers or belief that their cause is hopeless in the white man's court.

Therefore the lawless white man raises the cry of "social equality" against Negroes or any organization whose purpose is to aid and protect the race and encourage them to maintain a steady and persistent fight through the courts for their rights.

NEGROES DENIED CHARTER FOR ORGANIZATION.

Austin, Texas, Sept. 4.—C. D. Mims, acting secretary of state, to-day refused the application for a charter applied for by Negroes in Greenville, Austin and other Texas cities and to be known as the *Star Progressive Association*. The charter is contrary to the law in that it contains a considerable number of purposes, and the secretary of state is not authorized by statute to grant such charters, says Mr. Mims.

Information in the office of the secretary of state is that this association is to be composed largely of Negroes who saw service in France; that it was planned in France, and that social equality is the real purpose behind the movement, though the charter is so worded as to convey the impression that it is for the real advancement of the Negro in Texas, he continued.

Not Shillady Organization.

This is not the organization represented by John R. Shillady of New York, who was recently here and for which he sought a charter.

There has been a rush for charters for these Negro organizations, says Mr. Mims, and they are being turned down on the broad grounds that they are contrary to the real interest of citizens of Texas as a whole, both black and white.

Mr. Mims cites the activity of the stay in his place.

Negro newspapers of the state as evidence that there is a strong and vigorous effort to alter the status of the Negro and to do away with segregation laws. As a matter of fact, he says, these segregation laws as to public transportation and places of amusement were framed for the protection of the Negro and to prevent race disturbances; and the laws must be retained that the reputable and reliable members of the race may not be involved in the trouble which the social equality Negroes are endeavoring to foment.

AUSTINITES RESENT

MISREPRESENTATION

The Independent
The Statement Issued by Preacher That Negroes of Texas Capital Approved Assault on Shillady Condemned by Prominent Citizens.

CAMPBELL SPOKE ONLY FOR HIMSELF

10-11-19
His Sentiments Not Even Representative of His Own Followers — Rev. J. L. Wattles, Manly Minister, Places Facts Before Public That Race in Austin Be Not Misjudged.

AUSTIN, Tex., Sept. 29.—Some time ago you might have noticed an article in a southern newspaper entitled: "Shillady's Beating Gets Praise of Austin Negroes."

I am frank about the matter. These words were those of Rev. Dr. L. L. Campbell, pastor of the Third Baptist Church, and president of the St. John's association of that denomination.

This, however, was not the voice of the entire population of Austin nor of Travis county. We Negroes do not voice the sayings of that article, nor do we join Dr. L. L. Campbell in his broad statement. If anything we defy his idea concerning the race question.

On Sunday, August 31, at Ebezer Third Baptist Church, there was an open discussion concerning the race problem. In the morning Austin American's report of what was said that Sunday night we found that nearly 2,000 Negroes and 200 whites attended the meeting. Some of the parties who appeared on the program were ex-Mayor A. P. Wooldrige, Mr. Walker, Miss Blanton, state superintendent of the public schools; Dr. Campbell and others. It was repeated by two or three of the speakers that the Negro must

I would like for those speakers to tell me where is the Negroes place in America? Does not the constitution of this great republic provide that all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens of the same and have equal rights to all of its laws and protection?

Then is not the Negro a citizen? If not why did Uncle Sam draft 400,000 in to the army? Why did they defend this grand old U. S. A.? Why did they fall by the hundreds at Metz, Chateau Thierry, Argonne Forest and St. Mihiel? I write this article to let the people of this great U. S. A. know that Dr. L. L. Campbell is not large enough to speak for the entire city of Austin, nor has he brains enough to lead its Negro population. He can only speak for Campbell and that's all. Personally I do not believe he can speak for all of his members.

I want to serve notice on him and all that believe he was right by having such a meeting and saying what he did about his own people.

The N. A. A. C. P. is not a propaganda to stir race prejudices as stated by some of our city officials; but be it well understood by our so-called southern white friends that the corn field Negro does not exist any more; the Uncle Sam and Uncle Tom Negro died in the 19th century where the young Negro is settling the race question and we only respectfully demand the respect given other races that constitute this great republic.

We are not asking for social equality in the south, but we are asking for our rights as American citizens. Social equality has been the admitted bar to the Negro's progress. Since he does not want social equality what is next to hinder his opportunity as other races have? We only want equal accommodation in public affairs.

(Signed) REV. J. L. WATTLEY,
1205 East 13th St. Austin, Tex.

**BLOWS AND INSULTS
PILED ON SHILLADY
IN TEXAS. HE SAYS**

NEW YORK WORLD
AUGUST 28, 1919
Negroes' Defender Tells of At-
tacks by Austin Judge and
County Attorney.

John R. Shillady, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, No. 70 Fifth Avenue, yesterday told his story of the alleged "unprovoked attack" upon him in the main street of Austin, Tex. Aug. 22.

"I am a white man of some slight importance," said Mr. Shillady "and more so as the Secretary of this organization. If this experience could occur to me, what chance could a colored man have in Texas?"

"The assault upon me by a group of men, including a County Judge and a constable, occurred after I had been haled before a secret session of a so-called 'court of inquiry' in which in addition to being asked legitimate questions I was insulted by the County Attorney with questions such as these:

"If you're such a nigger lover, why don't you go and stay in a nigger hotel?"

"How would you like to have your wife in close personal association with niggers?"

"The County Judge who took part in the assault in broad daylight on one of the main streets of the capital was present at that secret session and had opportunity to hear my testimony. Had there been any question as to the legality of my intentions and acts, I would have been arrested in so hostile an environment.

"After the hearing the Presiding Judge invited me to come to his office to confer with him that night. This invitation I declined, although at that time I did not think, as I do now, that it would have meant an assault if not a killing in the seclusion of a second story office, as my assailants the next morning were the same group that loitered about the building in which the court was held.

"While directly opposite the Hotel Driskill I was approached from behind by a group of men in an automobile. One of them, the constable who had summoned me to the secret session the day before, took hold of my arm while the rest gathered round. Anticipating another subpoena, I waited expectantly. Instead of a subpoena, I was showered with blows from all sides. No assistance was offered me on the street or when I went into the hotel."

"The association has passed resolutions requesting a Congressional investigation and a committee has been appointed to take legal action against the 'mobsters.' This committee is composed of Moorfield Storey and Butler Wilson of Boston, Charles H. Studin and Capt. Arthur B. Spingarn of New York and George W. Crawford of New Haven.

"We also challenge Representative Burns of South Carolina or the Department of Justice to produce evidence that any of the recent race disturbances were incited by the colored people," said Mr. Shillady.

URGES STRIKE OF ALL NEGROES

Major Spingarn Says Southern Aristocracy Will Listen When No Black Is Working.

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

CLEVELAND, June 24.—Charges of treason against southern officers of the United States Army were made last night by Major J. E. Spingarn, late of the headquarters staff of the Sixth Army Corps in France and of the Military Intelligence Division, general staff of the United States Army, speaking before an audience of 2,000 at the tenth anniversary conference of the National Association for the advancement of colored people.

Major Spingarn charged United States officers from the south with preferring the defeat of their country in war to according the Negro officers and soldiers fair treatment and adequate training. He said systematic attempts had been made by these officers to lessen the efficiency of colored troops and officers.

"Who were the traitors that betrayed their country?" asked Major Spingarn, "who would rather see it lose in battle than have any social change at home? Vaunters of patriotism in the south who say that the Negro is not fit to fight. There is an unorganized conspiracy among the men of the American Expeditionary Force to blacken the record of the colored soldier."

Major Spingarn said the present treatment of the Negro in this country could not endure. "There are three ways," he added, "in which to deal with the situation. First, there is the gun. When I picked up only a few days ago an account of some of these terrible lynchings and read them in my study something in me revolted. But the gun is the poorest argument.

"The one which precedes it is the ballot. No white man who loves his country can rest content until every colored man has the vote."

"The third way of dealing with the problem is the strike. I hope you will not rest content until the 10,000,000 colored workmen of the south marshal their forces and stand ready to stop work at a moment's notice. The southern autocracy will listen when there is not a single black man who is doing a stroke of work."

TWO VIEWS OF THE RACIAL AUSTIN MOB
Independent

The following comment on the mobbing of John R. Shillady, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by citizens of Austin, Texas is taken

en from the "Columbia State" of Columbia, S. C., one of the leading dailies of the South:

Fools 'At Large
"The assault on J. R. Shillady, in Austin, Texas was lawless and wrong and the assailants should be arrested and punished severely. Three or four men confess that they set upon and beat one man and that is confession of brutality and unmanliness."

"Were a saint of the Lord, from the South, granting, for the argument's sake, that a saint of the Lord can be found in the South, discovered in Chicago and suspected of talking or preaching that might result in race conflict, would he meet with pleasant treatment than Shillady received in Austin?"

"Agitators of the 'negro question' at this time are enemies of the public peace and of the Negroes. Their motives be pious."

"That in Austin and Chicago freedom of expression is suspended is discreditable to our civilization."

"Indiscreet and hasty application of remedies may aggravate a sore. Pogroms in Poland are infamous. Persons may go to Poland and win a martyr's crown without in the least diminishing the atrocities practiced upon some of the people."

"Mr. Shillady will not cease to boast his scars and they will be acclaimed as honorable—to the exaltation of his soul. We do not grudge him his glory. The ruffians who assailed him should be sent to jail, for the protection of the people of Texas and the Southern States, and condemned as fools."

Compare the above with the following press report of Sept. 1:
Texas Negroes Demand That Interference From Northerners Shall Cease

"Austin, Texas., Sept. 1.—(By the Associated Press).—Resolutions declaring emphatic opposition to 'people of the North who do not understand conditions in the South, interfering with our relationship' adopted by the executive board of the St. John's Missionary Negro Baptist Association, were made public at a meeting here last night of two thousand Negroes and more than one hundred white persons, called to discuss the race question."

We submit both to you dear reader. Pass your own judgment. Oh, Lord, how long shall we suffer thus?

N. A. A. C. P. SECRETARY SAYS ATTACK ON HIM UNWARRANTED; HAS STIRRED UP HORNET'S NEST

By JOHN R. SHILLADY,
Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.

The Houston Observer
Unless Texas repudiates the statement of her governor expressing satisfaction with a brutal and unprovoked attack upon an unoffending United States citizen she will have confessed herself a lawless state.

I went to the capital of Texas, Austin, having telegraphed the attorney general and a justice of the peace, offering information concerning the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which they desired. My first call after meeting with a committee of the local branch of our organization was at the office of the governor. That being closed I proceeded to the attorney general's office and conferred with Acting Attorney General W. A. Keeling.

I offered him the fullest information concerning the purposes, methods and work of the association, handing him a copy of our most important publications. After this interview, which lasted some time, I proceeded to the adjutant general's office where I had an extended interview with Acting Adjutant General Col. W. D. Cope. I informed both of these officials of my intention to see the governor and the commander of the Texas Rangers.

The object of my journey to Austin was to ascertain why the books and papers and other property of the local branch of the Association had been subpoenaed by a local justice of the peace and examined by state officials and to offer to these officials a much fuller record than could be obtained from an examination of the association's national reports and publications, copies of which I brought for that purpose.

In the light of these facts it is sheer and deliberate falsification for Texas mobsters to charge me with being an "agitator" and inciting Negroes against white men.

The assault upon me, by a group of men, including a county judge and a constable occurred after I had been haled before a secret session of a so-called "court of inquiry" in which in addition to legitimate questions, I was asked insulting personal questions by the county attorney, such as:

"If you're such a nigger lover why don't you go and stay in a nigger hotel?" and personal references as to how I'd like to have my wife in close personal association with "niggers."

The county judge who took part in the assault in broad daylight on one of the main streets of the capitol of Texas was present at that secret session of the court and had full opportunity to hear all of my testimony. Had there been the slightest question as to the legality of my intentions and acts, it is perfectly certain that I would have been arrested in so hostile an environment.

After the hearing the presiding judge invited me to come to his office to confer with him that night. This invitation I declined although at that time I did not think as I do now that it would have meant an assault if not a killing in the seclusion of an unkept second story office, as my assailants the next morning were the same group that loitered about the building in which the court was held.

While directly opposite the Hotel Driskill, I was approached from behind by a group of men in an automobile. One of them, the constable who had summoned me to the secret session the day before, took hold of my arm while the rest gathered round. Anticipating another subpoena, I waited expectantly. Instead of a subpoena I was showered with blows from all sides. No assistance was offered me on the street or when I went into the hotel.

The association will not allow this dastardly attack to pass unchallenged. What happened to me personally is of little consequence. The law has been defamed. Mob violence, which the association is pledged to fight, has received the sanction of the governor of Texas. The association will therefore act as follows:

1. Congress will be asked to investigate this specific assault on the ground that the governor of Texas approved a criminal assault made by public officials upon a citizen of another state.

2. Following the precedent of the Mooney and the Bisbee deportation cases the president will be asked to appoint without delay, a responsible investigating commission. Governor Smith of New York will be called upon to demand protection for citizens of New York visiting Texas. A legal committee has been appointed to initiate proceedings against the mobsters. The committee is composed of Moorfield Storey and Butler Wilson of Boston, Chas. H. Studin and Arthur Spingarn of New York, and George W. Crawford of New Haven. An appeal

to the public opinion of the nation will be made through the press and mass meetings, one of which is planned for next week in this city.

The Negro Is Organizing

IF there had been any doubt of the status of the negro in this country—and there has been none among those who have taken the trouble to inform themselves—it could not have survived the tenth anniversary conference in Cleveland of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. At this conference there were gathered black and brown men and women from farms and fields, physicians and preachers, educators, artists, musicians and bishops—representative of every type of mind and accomplishment of the negro race in this country. Not one of the several hundred delegates, who spoke directly for some 70,000 negroes in the United States and indirectly for several million, had escaped personal insult, injustice and injury administered for no other reason than the color of the skin.

Two conclusions the conference made inevitable. One is that the negro's patience is drawing to a close. The word fight occurred frequently, and it was with a militant sense of the value of freedom, that speakers and delegates pledged themselves to attain it. The second conclusion concerns the ballot. Negroes want to vote. They realize, and their speakers proclaimed, that no sheriff in a southern state will protect a negro from the violence of a mob while the members of the victim's race are powerless to apply any pressure upon that sheriff. The negro knows that without the ballot he is a slave—that he is denied education, trial in the courts, opportunity to work—and that there is little likelihood that he will be made really free by appeals to conscience.

If it is true that the United States, for its own safety, cannot tolerate oppression in Turkey, in Galicia, in Ireland, it is doubly true that it cannot permit one section within its borders to treat as its own affair nullification of three amendments to the Federal Constitution and contempt for process of law in the courts. If the statement of fact seems extreme there are numerous typical cases to substantiate it.

IT is not so much at cases of violence, frequent as these are, that the growing membership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and negro voters is directing its attack. It is at a system of society built upon violation of the law. Cheap labor and ignorance are inseparable. It is for this reason that Louisiana, for example, has spent something like 5 per cent of her educational appropriations on negro schools and 95 per cent on white. If you educate negroes you cannot so easily exploit them, in the North or in the South. "That there is considerable opposition in the South to the education of the negro and a still greater measure of indifference, no one will deny," said Mr. Leo M. Favrot, supervisor of rural schools in Louisiana. And later he said: "The white race accepts education for its own children as a matter of course, just as it accepts its position as the ruling class and the dominant race." It is natural that in these circumstances plantation owners should, as Mr. Favrot said, have paid less attention to "the need for better houses, schools, sanitation and the promotion of common decency and the ordinary virtues of humanity" than to "protection for

sugar, the price of cotton, matters of business administration, and public questions."

The seepage of this consciousness of mastery on the one hand and powerlessness on the other has been disastrous. Professor George A. Towns, of Atlanta University, told of journeying thru the worst of the Georgia counties, where "a negro might be as wise as Socrates, as rich as Croesus and as good as Jesus, and still have ten chances of being lynched every week." And he told of the consequences of this state of affairs in inadequate labor supply due to the migration to the North, depreciated land values, loss and reduction of productivity. A clergyman from one of those counties told of the contract system of land lease with its attendant evil, overseers, under which negroes on a trumped-up charge of crime or disorder are driven out just as their crops are ripe; a system in which the negro is so ground down that his person is no more respected than are the agreements the white man makes with him.

Not only colored men but women as well stood before their audiences in Cleveland, recited the sorry tale of insult, persecution, miserable schools, and still more miserable wages paid to colored school teachers. "I know of no class of women that has suffered so much from immorality and injustice as southern white women," said the principal of one well-known colored school in the South, "and they cannot be delivered from that injustice until they lock hands and work with colored women." On the part of the women there was an intense realization of the economics of race prejudice, a realization that human values must be affirmed against material interests. It is appropriate that the issue of woman suffrage should have stirred the South as has no other in years to a sharp division over the dangers of impending democracy.

Not even Southerners fail to realize that a struggle is beginning which has as its object the enfranchisement of the millions of citizens now deprived of their vote.

Meanwhile ill feeling in the South is growing. Delegates to the Cleveland conference said it had never been worse. Enraged by the migration of their best and cheapest labor, communities are endeavoring to retain negroes by violence. It was reported by delegates that some have to leave the South by night, fugitives from the men and the society that holds them in involuntary servitude. But the migrations to the north, if they have begun to create new problems in the North, have also caused the South to ponder. And of this thought it is to be hoped the fruits will be schools, adequate sanitation and policing for negroes, justice in the courts—in short a realization that people will not stay where they are badly treated. In the South and the North the negro will fight for civic and political equality. It will have to be granted to him on the basis of his citizenship or the thought of the nation and its self-respect will be poisoned as it has been in the past by slave civilization.



Whitewash in London Passing Show
The Spectators: Before we throw the life line, we ought to make quite sure that he isn't a reactionary!"

Is Mob Violence the Texas Solution of the Race Problem?

By Mary White Ovington

Vice President of The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

ON August 22, 1919, John R. Shillady, secretary of "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," was assaulted in Austin, Texas. While approaching the Hotel Driskill, in the main part of the town, he was attacked by a group of six or eight men, among them County Judge David J. Pickle and Constable Charles Hamby, who, after using opprobrious epithets, proceeded, one to strike him in the face, others to seize and beat him, only ceasing when his face and chest were a mass of blood and bruises. He was then ordered to leave town.

Two hours later when he proceeded to the railroad station to buy his ticket, the same men were present with others and threats were made, including the remark that he should be lynched. No further violence, however, occurred and he proceeded on his way to St. Louis.

When the national office heard of the assault, a telegram was at once dispatched to the Governor of Texas asking what efforts were being made to punish the offenders. The Governor's reply was as follows:

Austin, Texas, August 23, 1919.

Mary White Ovington,
70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Shillady was the only offender in connection with the matter referred to in your telegram and he was punished before your inquiry came. Your organization can contribute more to the advancement of both races by keeping your representatives and their propaganda out of this state than in any other way.

W. P. HOBBY,
Governor of Texas.

The spectacle of a County Judge and a constable beating up a visitor to their state, who at the same time

is a secretary of one of the largest national associations in the United States, is worthy of serious attention; and the endorsement of the assault by the Governor makes it important to understand the position of the association and what Mr. Shillady was trying to do by proceeding to Austin, Texas.

In the past year and a half, since Mr. Shillady took

and (and ans a pay in nbership) from 10 50 t 9,500. Its growth has been especially noticeable in the South.

While a year ago Massachusetts and Ohio were neck to neck in the contest for first place, today Texas leads all other states in the number of its members and branches. Until recently the people of Texas, including its Governor, have shown no sign of an unfriendly feeling toward the association. A number of branch officers were received by Governor Hobby in December, 1918, when they respectfully asked him to include in his message a condemnation of lynching. The Austin Branch has cooperated with the Governor in his work upon the riots in Longview, Texas. Nevertheless, the national association received word from the Austin Branch that it

Shillady's coat. He boarded the train, and the porter made him as comfortable as was humanly possible. At the end of a weary ride the train slowed into St. Louis. On the platform to meet him were the officers of the St. Louis Branch, anxious to clasp him by the hand—a young lieutenant, a lawyer, a physician. Standing a little back were a humbler group of colored folk, to whom Mr. Shillady went over to speak. One of them grasped him by the hand with tears in his cheeks. "I want you to let me know," he said, "I can be of any help. I'm with you to the death."

New York City

had been cited to bring its books, papers, correspondence, etc., to court, while its president and

judges were ed before the County Court, the Adjutant General e commander of the State Rangers. he tei ked national office to inform the Austin B how the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was incorporated and whether it would ed a charter to operate in Texas. On receipt of this ar nt person Austin. Following this inch Mr.



Brown Bros.

Gov. W. P. Hobby, of Texas, who endorsed an assault recently made upon John R. Shillady, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Austin, Texas